





LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS

331.805

AM

312
UNIVERSITY OF

ILLINOIS LIBRARY

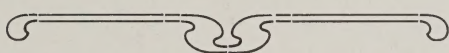
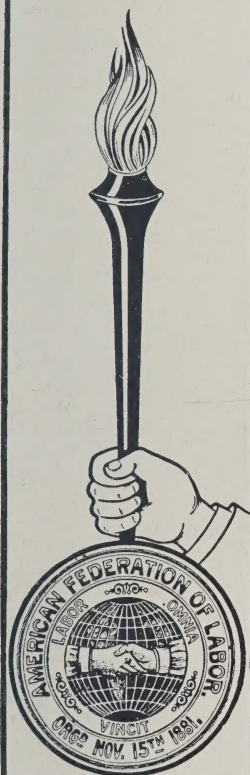
AT URBAN-CHAMPAIGN

BOOKSTACKS
REMOTE STORAGE



LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
STAMP

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST



I N D E X

TO

Vol. XXXI

PART II

1924



OFFICIAL MAGAZINE

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

YVAFBID
210V116 TO YV12B1V100
ARA 20



351.000
AM
v.312
cop.3

Law

REMOTE STORAGE

American Federation

INDEX TO VOLUME XXXI—1924

PART II

JULY

	Page
Now the States Must Act!—The Past, the Present and the Future of the Effort to Free American Childhood.....	541
Labor's Political Demands.....	554
Mitchell Memorial Dedicated.....	557
Is Contempt of Court Unpardonable?— By W. B. RUBIN.....	558
Cartoon—On to Victory.....	562
<i>Editorials:</i>	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS, <i>President, American Federation of Labor</i>	
Labor in the 1924 Campaign.....	563
Significant Movements in Europe.....	565
Business Is Sometimes Business.....	570
Voters Repudiate Union Haters.....	571
Again the 8-hour Day Wins.....	572
Mr. Swope Sees the Light.....	573
Co-operative Effort Succeeds.....	574
Heading West— By CHESTER M. WRIGHT.....	576
Conventions of International Unions.....	578
<i>Book Reviews:</i>	
Scientific Books of Interest to Workers.... (Creative Chemistry; Chats on Science; The A. B. C. of Atom; Lead—a Precious Metal)	579
The People's Corporation.....	580
Mr. Barnes Sees a Good World.....	582
Report of the Legislative Committee.....	583
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	589

AUGUST

The Future of Giant Power—Tyrant, Servant or Co-ordinator— By SAMUEL GOMPERS.....	621
An Injunction Case Without Parallel— By JOHN P. FREY.....	629
The Church from the Standpoint of Labor— By EDGAR A. PERKINS.....	638
The Trade Union Movement in Western Europe— By L. KRAUSE.....	644
The International Leather Workers' Case— By JOHN P. LEAHY.....	648
Cartoon—Found Wanting!.....	658
<i>Editorials:</i>	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS, <i>President, American Federation of Labor</i>	
Admonishing the Courts.....	659
The Lesson St. Paul Taught.....	661
And Out Jumped the Devil.....	663
The Drift to Centralization.....	665
The Passing of a Splendid Man.....	668
<i>Book Reviews:</i>	
Workers' Education Year Book.....	669
The Signalman and His Work.....	669
The American Government.....	669

PAGE

Co-operative Marketing.....	670
The Price of Coal.....	672
Year Book (1923) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	672
Representative Government and a Parliament of Industry; A Study of the German Federal Economic Council.....	672
The American Labor Year Book—1923-1924	672
Avenues of Information.....	675
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	676

SEPTEMBER

Executive Council.....	704
Report and Action on Men and Platforms— Executive Council of American Federation of Labor Adopts Findings of Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.....	705
In the Midst of Battle— By MATTHEW WOLL.....	711
We Stand on the Threshold of a Wonderful Day!— By JOHN A. VOLL.....	712
Complete Organization the Goal— By JOHN L. LEWIS.....	713
Law Alone Cannot Right the World's Great Wrongs— By G. W. PERKINS.....	714
Control of Our Movement— By JOHN P. FREY.....	715
Glorious Labor Day— By WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON.....	717
Labor Day, Past, Present and Future— By HUGH FRAYNE.....	718
Labor Day in the Mines and Among the Miners— By WILLIAM GREEN.....	720
Unloose the Bonds! Think!— By CHARLES P. HOWARD.....	722
A Noble Vision— By THOMAS F. McMAHON.....	724
Common People Must Save America from Exploiters— By JAMES W. KLINE.....	725
A Half Century of Effort— By MICHAEL F. TIGHE.....	728
Inspiring Achievement— By GEORGE F. HEDRICK.....	729
Clerks Press Onward— By E. H. FITZGERALD.....	730
Progress of the Bookbinders— By WALTER N. REDDICK.....	731
Labor Day!— By WILLIAM KOHN.....	732
Laborers March On— By D. D'ALESSANDRO.....	733
The Trade Union Movement in Western Europe— By L. KRAUSE.....	734

	Page
American Labor Leads the World—	
By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.....	738
Labor Day (Poem)—	
By ED. O'DONNELL.....	739
Cartoon—The Magic Hand of Labor.....	740
<i>Editorials:</i>	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS, <i>President, American Federation of Labor</i>	
Labor Day, 1924.....	741
We Are in to Win.....	741
World Power Potentialities.....	743
Politicians' Economic Ignorance.....	745
A Wish Father to the Thought.....	747
The U. S. Constitution, Study It.....	748
Sittin' in a Corner.....	750
Mines, Mining and Justice.....	751
Scientific Democratic Progress.....	753
Heading West—	
By CHESTER M. WRIGHT.....	755
<i>Official:</i>	
Political Circular.....	759
Convention Call.....	760
<i>Book Reviews:</i>	
A New Province for Law and Order.....	762
The Labor Theory of Value in Karl Marx.....	762
Taxation, The People's Business.....	762
The New Industrial Era.....	763
Raw Materials and Foodstuffs in the Com- mercial Policies of Nations.....	763
The Teaching Work of the Church.....	763
Psychology in Business.....	764
Prohibition; Going or Coming.....	764
Mortgages on Homes in the United States..	764
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	766

OCTOBER

The People's Will Must Rule—	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS.....	797
A Notable Anniversary—A Short History of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia and Carpenters' Hall—	
By FRANK DUFFY.....	801
American Co-operation With the League of Nations—	
By MANLEY O. HUDSON.....	804
Cartoon—My Kingdom for an Issue.....	807
<i>Editorials:</i>	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS, <i>President, American Federation of Labor</i>	
Why Labor Should Support La Follette and Wheeler.....	808
Ours Is Not the Philosophy of Misery..	809
Waste Elimination.....	813
Belittling the Congress.....	813
A Service for Pan-Americanism.....	815
Farmers' Guide Post—Organization.....	819
Avoid Spurious Dollar Diplomacy.....	820

Heading West—	
By CHESTER M. WRIGHT.....	822
<i>Book Reviews:</i>	
War Finances in the Netherlands Up to 1918	824
Children in Gainful Occupations.....	824
Fifteenth Annual Report of the Hydro- Electric Power Commission of the Prov- ince of Ontario.....	824
The Canada Year Book, 1922-23.....	824
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	826

NOVEMBER

The Courts vs. Natural Rights and Freedom—	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS.....	865
Edouard Herriot—The La Follette of France—	
By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.....	869
Labor's Part in Power Production—	
By JAMES P. NOONAN.....	872
A Neglected Centenary—	
By W. A. APPLETON.....	876
Workers' Education—Its Importance—	
By FANNIA M. COHN.....	878
Visitors from Great Britain.....	880
Cartoon—Cast Your Vote.....	882
<i>Editorials:</i>	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS, <i>President, American Federation of Labor</i>	
The Spirit of American Labor.....	883
Constructive Progress.....	884
Education Compels Justice.....	884
Centennial of a World Event.....	885
Prosperity vs. Unemployment.....	886
A Splendid Man Gone Wrong.....	889
Porto Rico's Onward March—	
By SANTIAGO IGLESIAS.....	894
Heading West—	
By CHESTER M. WRIGHT.....	909
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	911

DECEMBER

Vital Issues Before A. F. of L. Annual Con- vention.....	949
Mexico's President-Elect in Washington—	
By CHESTER M. WRIGHT.....	983
Cartoon—Rock of Ages.....	988
<i>Editorials:</i>	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS, <i>President, American Federation of Labor</i>	
Reaction Has Roses and Thorns.....	989
Though Others Fail.....	990
Like a Thief in the Night.....	992
A Sociological Quack.....	993
<i>Book Review:</i>	
The Causes of Industrial Unrest.....	995
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	1000

"I'm Enjoying Health and Vigor"

"We restaurant eaters must force greasy, quickly-fried food into our stomach in a hurry. No wonder it gets sluggish and refuses to perform its duties. And our next move is to 'take one of these pills each night!' Even the best stomach can not stand such treatment. It must soon stop functioning and instead of taking nourishment and health out of our food, it becomes semi-active and just passes it on.

"On the advice of a friend I ate my first yeast cake. Now I feel like the man who puts coal on a fire. He gets heat units, while today I'm enjoying health and vigor units, and am glad to be out of the 'glass of water and pill' class."

A letter from Mr. Thomas Leyden, of Elizabeth, N. J.

Eat 2 to 3 cakes every day

FLEISCHMANN'S YEAST

At every grocer's.

The Fleischmann Company

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor
CHESTER M. WRIGHT, Assistant Editor
Official Magazine of the American Federation of Labor
1924

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.	Executive Council, A. F. of L.
JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.	JACOB FISCHER, Sixth Vice-President.
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Second Vice-President.	MATTHEW WOLL, Seventh Vice-President.
FRANK DUFFY, Third Vice-President.	MARTIN F. RYAN, Eighth Vice-President.
WILLIAM GREEN, Fourth Vice-President.	DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.
T. A. RICKERT, Fifth Vice-President.	FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Official monthly magazine, devoted to the interests and voicing the demands of the trade union movement.
Published by THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR at 9th St. and Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C.
Correspondents will please address SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor, Washington, D. C.

All communications relating to finances and subscriptions should be addressed to FRANK MORRISON, Secretary
Washington, D. C.

The publisher reserves the right to reject or revoke advertising contracts at any time.

The editor will not be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

The American Federation of Labor is not sponsor for nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Entered at Washington, D. C., post office as second-class matter. Accept for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917. authorized July 11, 1918.

Contents for July

Now the States Must Act!—The Past, the Present and the Future of the Effort to Free American Childhood.....	541
Labor's Political Demands.....	554
Mitchell Memorial Dedicated.....	557
Is Contempt of Court Unpardonable?.....	558
By W. B. RUBIN	
Cartoon—On to Victory.....	562
EDITORIALS:	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, American Federation of Labor:	
Labor in the 1924 Campaign.....	563
Significant Movements in Europe.....	565
Business Is Sometimes Business.....	570
Voters Repudiate Union Haters.....	571
Again the 8-Hour Day Wins.....	572
Mr. Swope Sees the Light.....	573
Cooperative Effort Succeeds.....	574
Heading West.....	576
By CHESTER M. WRIGHT	
Conventions of International Unions.....	578
BOOK REVIEWS:	
Scientific Books of Interest to Workers.....	579
(Creative Chemistry; Chats on Science; The A. B. C. of Atom; Lead— A Precious Metal)	
The People's Corporation.....	580
Mr. Barnes Sees a Good World.....	582
Report of the Legislative Committee.....	583
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	589

A Good Reputation

FOR more than half a century the best petroleum products have carried the "Standard" name and trade mark.

Today they are better than ever before.

"Standard" Motor Gasoline in the fuel tank and Polarine Oil in the crank case make a working combination that calls upon your car for its very best performance.

Look for the red pump with the Standard Oil Company (N. J.) globe. Every drop of "Standard" Gasoline is carefully balanced to deliver instantaneous power behind the piston.

STANDARD OIL COMPANY
(New Jersey)



Save as you earn

7%

Systematic saving and investing! Few men succeed without it! Through our Easy Savings Plan you can purchase income-earning securities of established electric light, power and gas companies on payments of \$10 down and \$10 monthly per share, with liberal interest allowed on payments. These shares yield around 7%. Dividends are payable every three months; four extra pay checks every year!

For particulars of our Easy Saving Plan and list of current offerings, call, phone or write

UTILITY SECURITIES COMPANY

72 West Adams Street, Chicago
Milwaukee Phone Randolph 6262 Louisville



What Would a Disston Roll-Call Show?

A Pennsylvania saw-filer recently wrote the Disston Offices: "I am a saw-filer for a large construction company and file a large number of all kinds of saws. There are more Disston Saws on the job than any other make. Your D-8 is the favorite among our carpenters."

Most carpenters DO use Disston Saws.

Since the first half of the nineteenth century DISSTON SAWS, made from Disston-made steel by Disston saw-craftsmen (many of lifelong experience), have been the saws chosen by skilled carpenters who know good steel, a good edge and a good saw.

Make a roll-call on any job and note the carpenters who use only Disston Saws—and Tools.

Disston *Tools* are equally important to the good workman. Disston Levels, Try Squares and Gauges are all highly perfected tools for high-grade work.

Standardize your kit with Disston Saws *and Tools*.

HENRY DISSTON & SONS, INC.
Philadelphia, U. S. A.

Canadian Works—Toronto

Branch—Vancouver, B. C.

DISSTON

SAWS TOOLS FILES

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

PRODUCERS
REFINERS
DISTRIBUTORS
and MARKETERS

of

PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

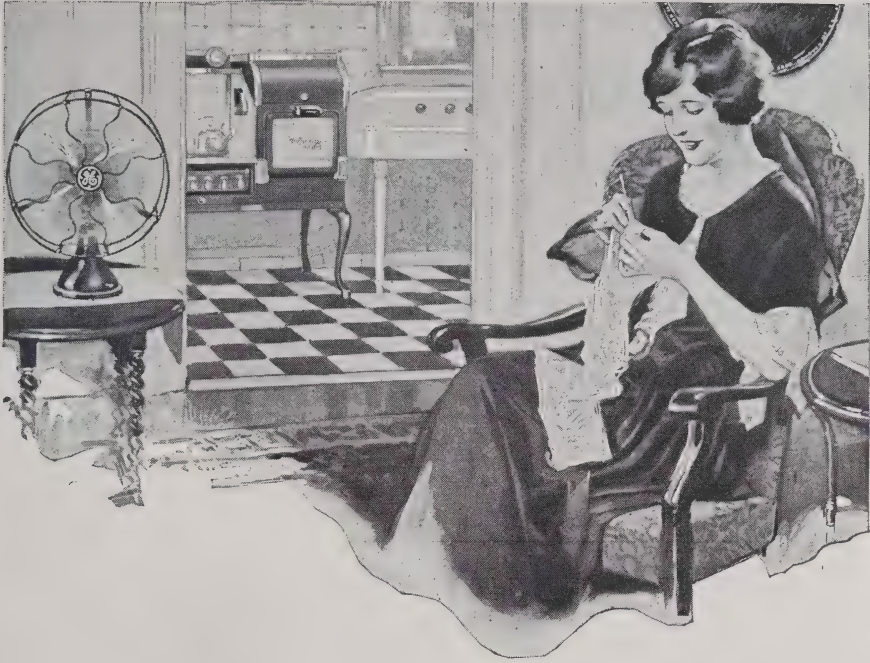
featuring

PAN-AM GASOLINE
LUBRICATING OILS
FUEL OILS and GREASES

*since our organization handles
its products through every stage
of manufacture—from the well
to the consumer—users of its
various products are assured
of uniformly high quality and
continuous supply*

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK



The biggest nickel's worth



The same nickel that keeps an electric fan running all day will operate an electric vacuum cleaner $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours, or a washing machine for an hour and a half. On the motors of these modern servants look for the General Electric Company monogram. The letters are a symbol of service, the initials of a friend.

You can buy an ice-cream cone for a nickel; it is cooling for a minute.

Or you can buy electricity for a nickel — enough to run a twelve-inch G-E fan for ten hours!

Is there any bigger nickel's worth in the world than this — coolness and comfort all day long, and a feeling of freshness at the end?

GENERAL ELECTRIC

CLEAN UP WITH LAVA SOAP



THE MECHANIC'S FRIEND

"Lava" meets the clean demands
Of those who toil and soil their hands.

Typewriter and Office Supply Co.

Commercial Stationers

FILING DEVICES, WOOD AND STEEL;
DESKS, CHAIRS, BOOKCASES.
LOOSE LEAF BINDERS AND SUPPLIES.
SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

722 THIRTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST - WASHINGTON, D. C.

Gum Chewing Aids the Teeth

You have the authority of doctors and dentists for this statement. Your own experience will prove it, if you will use WRIGLEY'S after every meal.



"Dentists have found that the exercise of gum chewing brings about a better nutrition of the teeth"

"The cleansing action of the gum between the teeth helps to keep them free from the particles which lodge in the crevices and cause decay."

WRIGLEY'S

after every meal

for the teeth's sake. Also it will aid digestion and furnish welcome refreshment to mouth and throat.

Sealed in its purity package, bringing all its original goodness and flavor to you.

Get your Wrigley
benefit today!



E17

The Flavor Lasts

ATKINS

SILVER STEEL SAWS



READ WHAT JOHN HELMER
WRITES ABOUT THEM



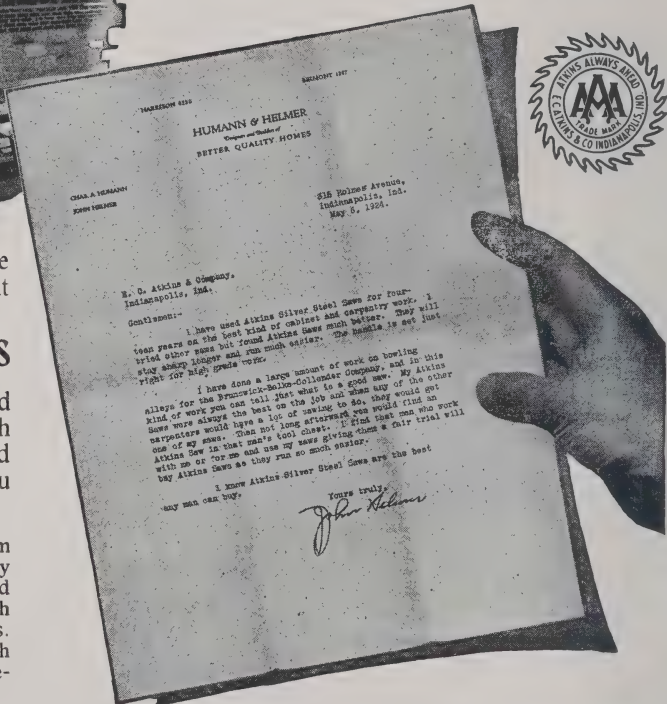
Carpenters throughout the country are learning that

Atkins Silver Steel Saws

are all that the word **QUALITY** implies, which accounts for unsolicited letters like the one you see on this page.

Quality rarely results from accident, but is achieved only through understanding and persistent efforts applied with unwavering fidelity to details. Those who appreciate such quality use Atkins Saws because they know they are

"The Finest On Earth"



Send 35 cents for carpenter nail apron, pencil and Saw Sense Book.

E. C. ATKINS & COMPANY

"The Silver Steel Saw People"

Established 1857

HOME OFFICE AND FACTORY, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

CANADIAN FACTORY, Hamilton, Ont.

MACHINE KNIFE FACTORY, Lancaster, N. Y.

Atlanta, Ga. Memphis, Tenn. New Orleans, La.
Chicago, Ill. Minneapolis, Minn. New York City.

Portland, Ore. Seattle, Wash. Sidney, N. S. W.
San Francisco, Cal. Vancouver, B. C. Paris, France



*'The Mechanical Hand
That Cranks Your Car'*

MADE BY THE

Eclipse Machine Co.
ELMIRA, N. Y.

Fun Everywhere with a

Radiola

(REG. U. S. PAT. OFFICE)



This symbol of
quality is your
protection.

Fun—music—news—education—all on the air. Listen in with a Radiola. There are Radiolas of many sizes—each noted for power, long distance, and dependability—for quality and simplicity. Be sure to look for the **Radiola** name on the receiving set you buy.

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

SALES OFFICES: DEPT. 164

233 Broadway New York, N. Y.

10 So. La Salle Street

Chicago, Ill.

433 California Street

San Francisco, Cal.



TIME is necessary for the creation of tradition. In this institution the practices, precepts and experiences of sixty years form the tradition which inspires the conduct of its staff. There has been no crystallization of experiences to hamper progress but rather the building of a background which gives guidance and freedom in meeting new situations.

Tradition calls the Continental and Commercial Banks to constructive service to business, to the upbuilding and protection of the forces of production and trade. It permeates the organization, gives vigor to the personality, influences the policy and fires the spirit—all to contribute to the extra measure of banking service normal to the institution.

The **CONTINENTAL and
COMMERCIAL
BANKS**

CHICAGO

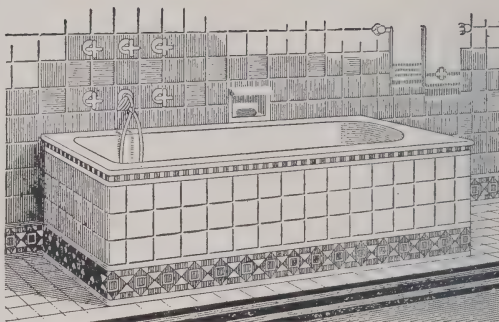
*An Extra
Measure of
Service*

*Resources
More Than
500 Millions*



Why not enjoy fuller, finer living this summer than ever before? Replace bathroom fixtures and heating plants that are out of date or worn out with modern units of greater beauty and convenience. Equip either your old or your new home with comfort and economy.

In units like the new "Tarnia" bathtub illustrated at the right, you will find charm and utility which you can easily afford to own. Ask your plumbing contractor to show them to you.



CRANE

GENERAL OFFICES: CRANE BUILDING, 836 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO
CRANE LIMITED: CRANE BUILDING, 386 BEAVER HALL SQUARE, MONTREAL

Branches and Sales Offices in One Hundred and Forty-five Cities

National Exhibit Rooms: Chicago, New York, Atlantic City, San Francisco and Montreal.

Works: Chicago, Bridgeport, Birmingham, Chattanooga, Trenton and Montreal

CRANE EXPORT CORPORATION: NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO

CRANE-BENNETT, LTD., LONDON

CRANE, PARIS, NANTES, BRUSSELS

Strictly Union Made

and with the quality that brings you
back for another pack

Made in the factory of the

AXTON-FISHER TOBACCO CO.
Incorporated

Louisville, Ky.



which, for 23 years
in business, has em-
ployed union labor
only and never had
a strike



HERCULES POWDER CO.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

Hotel Continental

"Centre of New York's Activities"

Broadway at Forty-first St.
NEW YORK CITY

Five Minutes from the Pennsylvania and
Grand Central Terminals; Within Easy
Access of the Retail Shopping Dis-
trict and Surrounded by
Forty Theatres

300 OUTSIDE ROOMS

Each With Private Bath

RATES:

Single: \$2.50 \$3.00 \$3.50 \$4.00
Double: \$4.50 \$5.00 \$6.00 \$7.00

COMFORT OF OUR GUESTS
Our First Consideration

Kiddies Love to Eat Mueller's

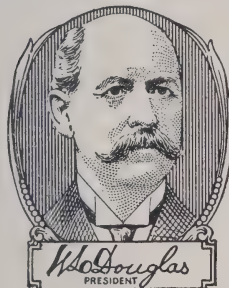
CHILD hunger is the dumb call of fast growing muscles and tissues for new strength, heat and energy. Wise mothers serve Mueller's Elbow Macaroni, Spaghetti or Egg Noodles, plenty and often, for they contain 1660 calories of energy and an abundance of strength. Served in various tasty ways, always pleases the youngsters. Mueller's foods are easily digested.

Serve it on Mondays and Wednesdays as well as Fridays. Be sure to say "Mueller's" to your grocer and get the highest grade and highest food value.

"All you need in a food"



W. L. DOUGLAS



\$7.00 & \$8.00 SHOES

For Men and Women
Many at \$5.00 & \$6.00
Boys at \$4.50 & \$5.00

W. L. Douglas shoes are sold in 117 of our own stores in the principal cities and by over 5,000 shoe dealers.

WHEREVER you live, demand W. L. Douglas Union Made shoes. They are high-class and up-to-date, made in all the popular

styles that appeal to men and women who want stylish and serviceable shoes at reasonable prices.

SELDOM have you had the opportunity to buy such wonderful shoe values as you will find in W. L. Douglas shoes in our retail stores in the principal cities and in good shoe stores everywhere. Only by examining them can you appreciate their superior qualities.

FOR ECONOMY and dependable value, wear shoes that have W. L. Douglas name and the retail price stamped on the soles. Buy them at our stores or of your dealer. Refuse substitutes. Write for Illustrated Catalog, postage free.

W. L. DOUGLAS SHOE COMPANY
12 Spark St., Brockton, Mass.



STAMPING THE RETAIL
PRICE AT THE FACTORY



This book—one penny

Mail a penny post-card at once to Johns-Manville, Inc., 292 Madison Avenue at Forty-first Street, New York City, for this booklet—"Re-roofing for the last time."

Even if you are not ready to re-roof now, this book will give you some dollar-saving information on the subject. And if you are forced to re-roof now, don't decide on the method or material until you have read this booklet. It may save you money.



JOHNS-MANVILLE, Inc.

292 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.

Branches in 62 Large Cities

Botany Worsted Mills

Passaic, New Jersey

New York Offices:

200 Fifth Avenue, New York

*Why take
a Chance*

**Protect Your Health
Consume the Quality
Products of the House**

of
ANHEUSER-BUSCH
ST. LOUIS

Budweiser
Bevo
Grape Bouquet



A-B Ginger Ale
Car-Cho
Malt-Nutrine

Union Natural Gas Corporation



UNION BANK BUILDING
PITTSBURGH -- -- -- PA.

Corns



© B & B 1924

Don't risk blood poisoning by paring a corn. Apply Blue-jay, the scientific corn ender. The pain will vanish instantly. Then the corn loosens and comes out. Get Blue-jay today at your druggist.

Blue-jay

HERMAN E. SCHANZLIN
Incorporated

ROOFERS

231 EAST 37th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

YOU MUSTN'T GROW OLD

Nature never intended us to grow old. Keeping the arteries soft and pliant is a matter of intelligent food selection and rational exercise. Avoid hardening of the arteries and the self-poisoning that comes from undigested foods by eating

SHREDDED WHEAT

Made Only by

THE SHREDDED WHEAT CO.
Niagara Falls, N. Y.

P—A—X

Private Automatic Exchange

A Complete Automatic System of Interior Communication, Combining Facilities for Meeting, in a Business or Industrial Organization, Every Intercommunication Need

This equipment is manufactured in the same factories and to the same rigid specifications as the equipment for public Automatic Telephone Systems in use all over the world. It is sturdy, compact and dependable—built to meet the exacting demands of the world's most prominent telephone engineers.

More than a private telephone exchange—the Automatic Electric Services of the P-A-X include and co-ordinate interior telephony, code call, conference, watchman service and all other intercommunication needs.

Automatic Electric Company
Engineers, Designers and Manufacturers of the Automatic Telephone in use the world over

Home Office and Factory, CHICAGO, U. S. A.

DWIGHT P. ROBINSON & COMPANY

INCORPORATED
ENGINEERS AND CONSTRUCTORS
NEW YORK

CHICAGO

PHILADELPHIA

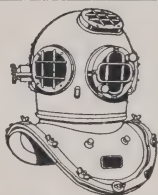
YOUNGSTOWN

LOS ANGELES

ATLANTA

MONTREAL

RIO DE JANEIRO



Furnishers of Diving
Apparatus to U. S.
Navy, and U. S. Army
Engineers Corps.

Large stocks always
on hand.

Schradler

Manufacturers Since 1844

Diving Apparatus

We make divers' outfits of all kinds for wreckers, contractors, bridge companies, water works, sponge and pearl fisheries—for any one who needs diving equipment.

Schradler Diving Apparatus received the highest awards at Jamestown 1907, Seattle 1909, San Francisco, 1915.

A. SCHRADER'S SON, Inc.

Chicago

Toronto

Brooklyn, N. Y.

London

INTEGRITY GUARANTEED

THE F & D's facilities for serving Union Labor include Fidelity Bonds for Secretaries, Treasurers and other officials of National and State Federations.

These bonds guarantee an honest accounting of all funds handled by officials and make sure that the affairs of the various associations will be properly conducted.

Wherever there is a Local Union there is an F & D Representative ready to supply the bonds needed for the protection of its funds. Unusually prompt service on the part of all F & D Representatives in the execution of bonds and the payment of just claims is made possible by the location of branch offices or general agencies in most of the principal cities in the country.

FIDELITY AND DEPOSIT COMPANY OF MARYLAND

"The Bonding Company"

BALTIMORE

Fidelity and Surety Bonds and Burglary Insurance



DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS OF THE
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Vol. XXXI

JULY, 1924

No. 7

Now the States Must Act!

The Past, the Present and the Future of the Effort to Free American Childhood

THE question of whether child labor is to be abolished in the United States has been decided in the affirmative by Congress so far as Congress now has the power to make that decision. The constitutional amendment has been passed by both Houses and now goes to the states for ratification. If three-fourths of the states approve the amendment it will become a part of the constitution. It will then be within the power of Congress to enact legislation limiting, or forbidding the employment of children under eighteen years of age.

There has been much misrepresentation of the proposed amendment in connection with its provision for regulating and prohibiting the labor of persons under 18 years of age. The language of the proposed amendment is as follows:

SECTION 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

SEC. 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

It has been stated by opponents that the labor of persons under 18 years of age would be prohibited by the adoption and ratification of the amendment. That is, of course, not the case. Congress will have power to

"limit, regulate and prohibit," and it is not to be expected that there will be complete prohibition of child labor up to the age of 18 years.

Congress, under the terms of the amendment may prohibit child labor under an age which Congress may determine and it may then regulate the conditions under which children over the prohibited age and under 18 may be permitted to work. For example, it will be possible for Congress to prohibit the labor of children under 16 years of age and to regulate or limit the labor of those between 16 and 18. It was for that reason that 18 years was fixed in the proposed amendment instead of 16 years. The proposed amendment is not a legislative enactment and can have no effect except to empower Congress to enact legislation.

Furthermore, federal legislation enacted under the terms of the amendment will have effect only in states where state legislation falls below the standards fixed by such measures as Congress may enact after the ratification of the amendment. In other words, Congress will have the power to act if the states refuse to act. It is entirely possible that the adoption of the amendment by Congress and the prospect of its ratification by the states will encourage states to enact legislation adequate for the protection of the child workers within their boundaries.

It is expected that state pride will lead many states to adopt standards as generous as may be fixed by Congress in order that federal legislation may not apply within those states. States that now have inadequate standards may be lead to improve their standards prior to the enactment of federal legislation.

Those members of the House and Senate who voted for this amendment are to be commended for their conduct. It is true that they did no more than their duty, but a great many Congresses have failed to do even that much. Of course, there were those who opposed the amendment bitterly. In the Senate there were 23 who voted against it, while in the House there were 69. In the Senate there were 60 who voted for it, while in the House there were 297.

The legislatures of 36 states must approve the amendment before its success is finally assured. To this end it is necessary that the trade unions throughout the country immediately begin agitating in favor of the amendment in the various states. This question should have an important bearing on the candidacy of those who seek election or reelection as members of state legislatures everywhere. No candidate who opposes this amendment can be accepted as satisfactory.

The victory that has been so strikingly won in Congress is a victory for the trade union movement. The trade union movement must head the procession that carries the banner the balance of the way to victory.

There could be no time more fitting at which to recall the continued leadership of the labor movement in this great struggle—a leadership stamped in the records of the movement, and in the hearts of the millions of men and women within its ranks.

The First Recorded Action

The Committee on Platform of the 1881 convention of the American Federation of Labor included the following declaration in its report:

That we are in favor of the passage of laws in the several states forbidding employment of children under the age of 14 years in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

The convention unanimously adopted this report, making it a part of the declaration of principles.

The Committee on Platform was made up of the following persons: Sam. L. Leffingwell, R. Robertson, Michael J. Byrne, Gustav Fowitz, John J. Thompson, A. C. Rankin, Leo P. Dwyer, L. A. Brant, A. Madera, Chas. F. Burgman, M. P. Walsh, Sherman Cummin.

Samuel Gompers, a delegate representing the Cigarmakers' International Union of America, made the following declaration in support of the Platform Committee's report:

Not long since I was on a committee appointed to visit the tenement cigar shops. I saw there on that visit scenes that sickened me. I saw little children, six, seven and eight years of age, seated in the middle of a room on the floor, in all the dirt and dust, stripping tobacco. Little pale-faced children, with a look of care upon their faces, toiling with their tiny hands from dawn till dark; aye, and late into the night, to help to keep the wolf from the door. I asked them how long they worked, but they did not, could not understand. In the simplest way I talked to them, and learned that they began before daylight, and worked till long after dark. Often they would be overcome with weariness and want of sleep, and fall over upon the tobacco heap. Shame upon such crimes; shame upon us if we do not raise our voices against it.

In 1884 a proposal to amend the constitution of the United States, relative to limiting the hours of women and minors employed in the textile industries, was under consideration. In view of the final result this action has a peculiar significance.

The 1884 convention of the American Federation of Labor approved the constitutional amendment by adopting unanimously the following resolution:

WHEREAS, in view of a constitutional amendment now pending in the national House of Representatives relative to limiting the hours of females and minors employed in textile industries, and in view of the fact that such legislation can not be made practicable unless it receives a majority vote of the various state legislatures in its favor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Legislative Committee and the delegates present use their best efforts to secure the support of the legislators in their respective states in sustaining such legislation.

The 1885 convention amended the child labor demand in the declaration of principles so as to prohibit the employment of children in factories, workshops, mills or mines until they were fourteen years of age, and insist upon their compulsory education up to that age. The amended demand read as follows:

We demand the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children up to their fourteenth year, and the prohibition of their employment in factories, workshops, mills, or mines until

they have reached that age, for if the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the duty of the state to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

We demand the passage of laws in the several states forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years, in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

Of All the Ills the Worst

In his report to the 1890 convention, President Gompers made the following declaration respecting child labor:

Of all the ills that mankind suffers from, the unjust and cruel tendencies of modern methods of wealth-producing, the one that seems to me to rise to horrible proportions is that of Child Labor.

Our centers of industry with their mills, factories and workshops are teeming with young and innocent children, bending their weary forms with long hours of daily drudgery, with pinched and wan cheeks, and emaciated frames, dwarfed both physically and mentally, and frequently driving them to premature decay and death. The innocent smile of youthful happiness is soon transformed into wrinkles and other evidences of early decay. The life's blood of the youth of our land is too frequently sapped at the foundation.

The hope of a perpetuity of free institutions is endangered when the rising generation is robbed of the opportunity to enjoy the healthful recreations of the play grounds or the mental improvements of the school house.

The children of the workers have none to raise a voice in their defense other than the organized wage workers and I appeal to you to take such action as will protect them from the contemptible avarice of unscrupulous corporations and employers.

The 1890 convention also adopted a report reiterating the attitude of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of child labor and instructing the Executive Council to have drafted, to present to Congress a constitutional amendment prohibiting in all states of the union the employment in factories, mines and mercantile establishments, of children under the age of fourteen years.

In his report on child labor to the 1891 convention, President Gompers directed attention to the laws enacted by various state legislatures to raise the age limit for child workers, and declared:

There is much to be desired in this latter instance, since, in many cases, exceptions have been made in the application of the laws to "mercantile establishments." The employment of children at young and tender ages in the stores and basements of mercantile houses is just as barbarous and inhuman as it is in the factory and workshop and should be prohibited.

With regard to the proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit the labor of children, President Gompers reported that Congress was so thoroughly engrossed with the tariff question, that it had been deemed inexpedient to present the amendment.

In his report on child labor to the 1893 convention President Gompers said:

While it is true that through the efforts of our organizations the inhuman practice of allowing young children to be employed has been somewhat abated, the fact remains that the damnable system which permits young and innocent children to have their very lives worked out of them in factories, mills, work-

shops and stores, is one of the very worst of labor grievances, one which the trade unions have protested against for years, and in the reformation of which we shall never cease our agitation until we have rescued them, and placed them where they should be, in the schoolroom and the playground.

In the 1898 convention a resolution was introduced, directing the Executive Council "to present a bill to Congress imposing an internal revenue tax of fifty per cent on all establishments where children under fourteen years of age are employed, or where minors and women are required to work more than eight hours per day or forty-eight hours per week."

The Committee on Laws reported adversely on the resolution. It was feared if it became a law that it would be regarded as a license for the employment of child labor.

Reporting a Backward Step

In his report to the 1900 convention, President Gompers devoted special attention to the repeal of the child labor law in Alabama (in 1895) and described the activities of the American Federation of Labor in its endeavor to secure the reenactment of the Alabama law. President Gompers said:

For several years, prior to 1895, a law existed in the State of Alabama, prohibiting the labor of children under a certain age, and limiting the hours of labor of all minors. The legislature of that state in the year named repealed that law, and since then children of young and tender age have been employed in the factories, and particularly in the mills of the textile industry, twelve and fourteen hours per day. Recognizing that it is the mission of the trade union movement to protect the children from such evil conditions, we have not only urged upon our fellow unionists of that state to secure the reenactment of the law restricting the hours of labor and prescribing the age limit below which children shall not be employed, but we are arousing a sentiment among all the people of that state to secure its enactment. With this object in view we have a direct representative of the American Federation of Labor in attendance upon the legislature which is now in session; and it is confidently hoped that this humane effort may be crowned with success.

In its report to the same convention (1900) the Executive Council made the following statement with respect to the defeat of the child labor bill by the legislature of Georgia:

It is with keenest regret that we are compelled to record and report the defeat of the Child Labor bill by the legislature of Georgia. The bill was formulated by our Georgia Federation of Labor, and urged with eloquence and persistency, but the power of the factory owners in Georgia was more potent than the yearning cry of the factory children of that state.

Though defeated, it becomes our duty to undertake an agitation for the creation of a healthier public opinion—to arouse the conscience of the people of Georgia, so that when this humane proposition is again introduced, it will be enacted into law, and thus preserve the health and save the lives of thousands of otherwise helpless children.

In his report to the 1903 convention, President Gompers describes the achievement of the organized labor movement in the enactment of state child labor laws.

We have been successful in the past year in securing the enactment of laws in Oregon, Texas, and Alabama restricting the labor of children. In Alabama, the law is not such a one as to give satisfaction, but it is a beginning upon which

we may justly count for improvement in the future. In New York and Pennsylvania the existing laws governing child labor have been materially improved. We can be engaged in no more praiseworthy work than to save the children, to protect their lives from the exploitation of avaricious employers, to gain for the children of our time and of the future, not only the right to live, but the right and opportunity of an education, of light and sunshine, and of play, that they may physically and mentally grow and morally expand, that they may become strong men and women of the future, ready to enjoy the privileges and perform the obligations devolving upon them in their time.

The Committee on Executive Council's report made the following declaration which was unanimously adopted by the convention:

. . . That the child belongs in the school and on the play ground instead of in the workshop and factory is as well known and recognized by those not blinded by personal interests, as is the multiplication table. We would in addition to this call attention to the deplorable condition existing in the south, where we find the colored children in the school and on the playground, the whites in the factory, a matter for serious consideration of the legislators meeting in the different capitals of the southern states.

In his report to the 1906 convention, President Gompers urged the approval of the joint resolution of Congress directing the Department of Labor to make an investigation of the sociological conditions of women and child workers in the United States. The convention approved the measure, and also directed the legislative committee to cooperate with the National Child Labor Committee in securing the enactment of state child labor laws.

The 1907 convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirmed the demand for child labor legislation in various states.

Congress Responds to Appeal

In his report to the 1908 convention, President Gompers described the attempt in Congress to enact a child labor law for the District of Columbia with the twelve-year age limit, and of his successful effort to have the age limit raised to fourteen years.

The following excerpt was taken from President Gompers' report:

Congress passed a law forbidding the labor of children under fourteen years of age in the District of Columbia. It required great effort to secure the passage of this law. The committee of Congress having the bill in charge reported one with the age limit of children for twelve years. When this bill was reported by the chairman, I addressed a letter to the Hon. J. Van Vechten Olcott, from which I quote the following:

I see that the Committee on the District of Columbia has reported a bill to the House upon the subject matter dealing with the question of child labor in the District of Columbia. I note also that the bill provides the twelve-year age limit; that is, the labor of children in manufactories, etc., under the age of twelve years is prohibited.

In connection with the subject matter, may I submit to you the fact that the enactment of a bill containing the age limit of twelve years can do naught but work mischief and great injury to the movement which seeks to eliminate the worst elements of child labor in the industrial affairs of our country. No one in our time undertakes to defend the exploitation of the young and the innocent children for profit in industry. The heart and the conscience and the good sense of our people have been aroused against the great wrong and injury

resulting from the labor of young and innocent children. So far as this reform movement has gone, in thirty-five of our states the law upon the statute books provides the fourteen-year age limit and in only nine is there a law providing for the twelve-year age limit.

If the Congress of the United States were to enact a law by which the age limit of the labor of children would be set at twelve years, it would be the severest blow which this humane movement could receive. Here in the capital of the United States, with Congress legislating upon this subject, it would seem that even a fair conception of right and duty would permit the enactment of a law that shall set the age permitting children to work in the industries of Washington at not less than fourteen years.

The fact that there is no law upon the statute books regulating or limiting the labor of children in the District of Columbia is a severe reflection in itself. To now enact a law that would set the permissive age at twelve years for children to labor would not only be a serious mistake and contribute to retard the progressive movement toward eliminating child labor, but, as already stated, would be regarded as reactionary in the extreme. It were far better that Congress would not enact a law upon the subject at all than to pass the bill reported by your committee to the House.

I am sure that I but reflect the sentiment, and the deep-seated sentiment of the demands of all the people of our country, when I urge that your committee and Congress will change the proposed bill so as to raise the age limit to fourteen years.

The protest had its effect and the age limit was raised to fourteen years. Congress failed to make any provision for inspectors or other officers to enforce the law. The government of the District of Columbia, is, however, making an effort to enforce it.

In its report to the 1913 convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declared that several bills had been introduced in Congress for the purpose of regulating the employment of children in the District of Columbia, and for the further purpose of prohibiting interstate transportation of products of mines and factories where children under certain ages are employed.

The Committee on Executive Council's report recommended "that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its effort in the direction of securing the passage of proper legislation for the control of the child labor evil."

The convention adopted the committee's recommendation.

Child Labor Employers Condemned

In its report to the 1914 convention, the Executive Council again directs attention to the various child labor bills under consideration by Congress, and recommended the Owen-Palmer bills which barred from interstate transportation products in the production of which the labor of children under certain ages was employed.

In May, 1914, the Executive Council made a statement respecting the child labor evil, the closing paragraph of which follows:

Therefore, we the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as authorized representatives of the greatest humanitarian movement of the

country, declare that any who profits by the toil of children at all, or by the labor of other minors required to toil more than eight hours a day, is unfair and unworthy of the patronage of true patriots and those who desire human welfare.

The convention unanimously adopted the Executive Council's report.

In its report to the 1915 convention, the Executive Council directs attention to the failure to secure congressional action upon the Owen-Palmer bill and outlines the position of the American Federation of Labor movement in the following language:

We are confident that this measure, or one similar to it will become a law in the near future because we believe that the Congress of the United States is not inclined to set itself against the enlightened public sentiment of the people in behalf of better opportunities for the children.

We recommend that this issue be made one of the chief features in our forthcoming legislative program.

In its report to the 1916 convention, the Executive Council announced the enactment of the Federal Child Labor Law prohibiting the transportation in interstate or foreign commerce of articles in the manufacture of which children under fourteen years of age were employed, or children between fourteen and sixteen years were employed at night or longer than eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week. The council said:

We consider, as an organization of thoughtful, devoted and persistent advocates of judicious legislation that will protect the youth of our land, as well as to conserve the best interests possible for the children yet unborn, that we should congratulate ourselves upon the fact that due to most persistent efforts we have finally secured a federal law which will protect the children of our land in each and all of the states, insofar as such protection to the children can be afforded by federal authority.

The federal child labor bill has been passed and is now a law. It will become effective September 1, 1917.

But the Executive Council realized that the enactment of a law is one thing, but its enforcement is another, consequently the Executive Council said:

In closing our report upon this subject we venture the suggestion that the toilers throughout the whole United States will do their utmost to prevent violations of this splendid piece of legislation designed for the protection of the children of our nation.

Court Decision Shocks Nation

During the interim between the completion of the Executive Council's report, prepared for the 1918 convention and the assembling of the convention, the Supreme Court of the United States by a five to four decision declared the federal child labor law unconstitutional. In its report to the convention, the committee on the Executive Council's report denounced the Supreme Court decision and instructed the Executive Council to devise some method to prevent in the future similar nullifying action on the part of the court. In criticizing the Supreme Court's decision the committee said:

The first shock to the public within and without the labor movement, is caused by the direct blow against the conservation of our manhood and womanhood of tomorrow, and the first effort must be toward limiting the disastrous

effects of the decision as far as may be possible, pending new legislation. But we hope that an additional result will be the placing of effective restrictions on the power of five men to nullify the legislative enactments of the duly constituted representatives of over one hundred million free people; and we recommend that this convention instruct the Executive Council to make an effort to secure such restriction.

To remedy as far as possible the immediate results of the Supreme Court's decision, the committee recommended that the Executive Council request Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo to issue an Executive order as Director of Railroads prohibiting the acceptance for shipment of any articles produced in violation of provisions similar to those of the Federal Child Labor Law.

The committee further recommended that the "Executive Council be instructed to make every effort to find a permanent remedy for the intolerable situation resulting from the decision of the Supreme Court," and suggested as one possible remedy "legislation requiring federal incorporation under provisions safeguarding children, of all concerns engaged in production for interstate commerce."

In its report to the 1919 convention, the Executive Council directed attention to the conference called by Secretary of Labor Wilson to discuss permanent child labor legislation and to meet the objections raised by the Supreme Court in its decision nullifying the Federal Child Labor Law. The conference was attended by representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the National Child Labor Committee, the Women's Trade Union League, the National Consumers League and various government officials who had helped to formulate or enforce the original Federal Child Labor Law.

"After numerous meetings and much discussion," declares the council, "a new Child Labor bill was agreed upon which proposed to levy an excise tax upon the products of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment in which children under the age of fourteen years had been employed, or children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years had been employed for more than eight hours in any one day, or more than six days in any one week."

President Wilson gave his approval to the measure. As finally enacted, as a part of the revenue law, the provision embodied a tax of ten per cent on the net income of any establishment wrongfully employing children in violation of the statute.

The Executive Council also directs attention to the fact that Federal Judge James E. Boyd of North Carolina declared the new Federal Child Labor provision unconstitutional and that his opinion had been appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. In regard to the possible forthcoming decision of the Supreme Court, the Executive Council said:

While the lower court decided adversely on the Child Labor law, yet the case is pending before the Supreme Court of the United States. We hope and expect that that court will declare the law to be constitutional. Pending decision by the Supreme Court the officers of the Internal Revenue Service have

decided that the purport of the law, as declared by the Congress and signed by the president, shall be in effect and will remain in effect, subject to decision by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Second Bill Introduced Promptly

The convention adopted a resolution commending the prompt and effective action of the Executive Council in introducing a second child labor law in Congress "to remedy the intolerable situation following the Supreme Court decision declaring the first law unconstitutional. This second law is now in operation, pending review by the Supreme Court of the decision of Judge Boyd of North Carolina. All in our country who place the rights of children and the future welfare of the nation above the sordid profits of the exploiters and destroyers of childhood, share the hope of the Executive Council that the Supreme Court will reverse the second attempt by Judge Boyd to nullify the expressed will of the nation."

In its report to the 1920 convention, the Executive Council announced that the Supreme Court had not as yet reached a decision with regard to the constitutionality of the Federal Child Labor law.

In its report to the convention, the Committee on Education urged the renewal of the ten per cent tax on the products of child labor provided in the revenue law, but further recommended "that a constitutional amendment, empowering Congress to enact more effective legislation on a subject so vital to national welfare, be vigorously pushed to adoption."

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

In its report to the 1921 convention, the Executive Council again directs attention to the fact that the Supreme Court has not reached a decision as to the constitutionality of the provision of the revenue act providing for the taxation of the products of child labor.

In its report to the convention, the Committee on Education said:

The committee approves the efforts of the Executive Council to secure adequate protection of the childhood of the country through legislation, and a constitutional amendment on the subject of child labor, and recommends that there be no relaxation in these efforts. The welfare of the nation as a whole is so vitally involved that children must not be left unprotected in states with unawakened consciences which are backward in this respect.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

In May, 1922, the Supreme Court of the United States declared the second Federal Child Labor Law unconstitutional.

President Gompers immediately called a meeting of representatives of prominent national organizations of women and men which organized the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor.

In its report to the 1922 convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council announced that in May, 1922, the United States Supreme Court rendered a decision declaring the Federal Child Labor Law unconstitutional "in that it attempted to do by indirection, that which the United States Supreme Court held in the first case could not be done directly, viz, interfere with state rights."

The Second Adverse Decision

In its criticism of the Supreme Court's decision, the Executive Council said:

By this decision of the Supreme Court we find our nation and its people once more confronted with a legal bewilderment wherein animal life and inanimate objects receive greater consideration than the life and welfare of children. According to prior decisions Congress may prevent the shipment of lottery tickets, phosphorous matches, baled hay and other things from one state to another. It may tax bank notes out of existence and use its legislative authority to protect trees and cattle. But by this decision, it must keep its hands off when the health and life and well-being of the nation's children are concerned.

We protest most emphatically against such unjust and inhumane decisions. We realize that our protest, in so far as the Supreme Court is concerned, will fall on deaf ears. However, we address our protest to Congress and urge that it immediately approve and endorse a constitutional amendment to undo the harm the Supreme Court has done to the youth of our land. We also urge that renewed energy be displayed in the several states for the enactment of effective child labor laws and we recommend that a nation-wide appeal be immediately directed to every man and woman throughout our land who has a heart and soul and conscience, to promote the welfare of the nation's children and to unite in the purpose of conserving child life and to protect it against selfish greed and brutal avarice.

The 1922 convention of the American Federation of Labor condemned the United States Supreme Court for having declared the child labor law and other labor laws unconstitutional and said:

Thus by six decisions the United States Supreme Court, composed of nine men without direct mandate from the people and without responsibility to the people, has set aside a congressional enactment which clearly expressed the will of the vast majority of the people, and all but outlawed the activities of organized labor, which alone can protect the workers from the oppression and aggression of the greedy and cruel interests.

This despotic exercise of a usurped power by nine men, or a bare majority of them, over the lives and liberties of millions of men, women and children, is intolerable. . . .

To remedy the child labor situation produced by the Supreme Court decisions, the convention recommended the adoption of an amendment to the constitution of the United States "prohibiting the labor of children under the age of sixteen years in any mine, mill, factory or workshop, or other industrial or mercantile establishment, and conferring upon Congress the power to raise the minimum age below which children shall not be permitted to work, and to enforce the provisions of the proposed amendment by appropriate legislation."

Final Struggle Is Planned

In July, 1922, the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor approved the following proposed amendment to the constitution to confer upon Congress the absolute right to regulate child labor:

Congress shall have power to limit or prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age and power is also reserved to the several states to limit or prohibit such labor in any way which does not lessen any limitation of such labor or the extent of any prohibition thereof by Congress. The power vested

in the Congress by this article shall be additional to and not a limitation on the powers elsewhere vested in the Congress by the constitution with respect to such labor.

The above resolution was introduced in the Senate on July 26, 1922, by Senator McCormick and later in the House of Representatives by Representative Foster. Congress adjourned without acting upon the resolution.

Immediately after the adjournment of Congress, President Gompers called a meeting of the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor, of which he was chairman. The conference agreed that an intensive campaign should be launched to have Congress pass a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution for the protection of persons under eighteen years of age.

In its report to the 1923 convention, after enumerating the delay in Congress with regard to the enactment of the proposed amendment, the council said:

The agitation for the child labor amendment should be taken up by every state and city central body and local union in the United States. The national and international unions are requested to secure copies of the leaflet from the American Federation of Labor and distribute them among their local unions.

There is great opposition to child labor legislation in certain districts in the United States. This applies to the textile industry, the beet sugar industry and portions of the south.

The convention is urged to take strong ground in demanding the necessary legislation for the protection of child life.

The 1923 convention approved the "report of the Executive Council upon the work performed and progress made in an effort to secure an amendment to the constitution of the United States, which has for its purpose the prohibition of child labor."

With respect to the general work for child labor legislation, performed by the American Federation of Labor, the convention declared:

It is but natural that the American Federation of Labor should lead in this great humanitarian movement for the protection of child life and child labor. The economic and social status of American working men and women enables them to understand most clearly how important and vital to the nation and organized labor is the conservation and protection of child life. This purpose can not be attained if employers are permitted to profit by the exploitation of little children in the mills, mines and factories of our country.

The convention urged the entire organized labor movement, national and local, to work unceasingly in an effort to arouse public support for the proposed constitutional amendment, and instructed the Executive Council to continue its efforts to secure the adoption of the amendment.

The record, as thus set forth, demonstrates clearly the leadership of the American Federation of Labor throughout the long campaign for the liberation of child workers. The record is a complete repudiation of the flamboyant claims made by certain interests, notably William Randolph Hearst and his publications. It is a Hearst practice to claim credit for the achieve-

ments of others when it appears that success is in sight. The Hearst claim to credit for the child labor amendment is one of the most notable examples of Hearst arrogance and egotism.

Seventeen National Organizations Unite

In the campaign resulting in the passage of the amendment by the Congress just adjourned, 17 associations, each national in character, were banded together under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor in the Permanent Committee for the Abolition of Child Labor. Great credit is due to the work of each of these organizations. Included in the list of national bodies, fighting side by side, giving continuous self-sacrificing service are the following: American Federation of Labor, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Girls' Friendly Society in America, National Child Labor Committee, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, National Consumers' League, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Women, Inc., National Education Association, National Federation of Teachers, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National League of Women Voters, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Trade Union League, Service Star Legion, Young Woman's Christian Association.

This committee will not be disbanded. On the contrary, it will continue to lead and direct the fight for ratification by the states. It is to be hoped that victory may not be long delayed in order that legislation under the new amendment may be enacted as speedily as possible, ending forever the disgrace of child labor in the United States. Let it be remembered that child labor is one of the great contributing causes of crime, one of the great contributing causes of physical deficiency and illness and one of the foremost factors contributing to the illiteracy of nearly five million persons in the United States.

Let every American and particularly every American trade unionist join vigorously and enthusiastically in the final effort to secure ratification of the amendment in behalf of American childhood.

GOOD TIMBER

The tree that never had to fight
For sun and sky and air and light;
That stood out in the open plain,
And always got its share of rain,
Never became a forest king,
But lived and died a scrubby thing.
The man who never had to toil,
Who never had to win his share
Of sun and sky and light and air,
Never became a manly man,
But lived and died as he began.
Good timber does not grow in ease;
The stronger wind, the tougher trees;
The farther sky, the greater length;
The more the storm, the more the strength,
By sun and cold, by rain and snows,
In tree or man good timber grows.
Where thickest stands the forest growth,
We find patriarchs of both,
And they hold converse with the stars
Whose broken branches show the scars
Of many winds and much of strife—
This is the common law of life.

—Anon.

Labor's Political Demands

In the following document Labor's demands are set forth as presented to the national Republican convention in Cleveland, Ohio, and to the national Democratic convention in New York City.

TO THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE OF THE 1924 REPUBLICAN (OR DEMOCRATIC) NATIONAL CONVENTION:

OUT OF our experiences as workers and citizens of this republic American labor has reached carefully considered conclusions upon proposals that should be embodied in our national policies. As your political party is to make an appeal to the minds and consciences of the voters for support of a national programme to be formulated in your party platform, as representatives of America's workers we submit for your most earnest consideration proposals that labor deems essential to continued national progress and maintenance of a genuine patriotism that comes from confidence in guiding political ideals as well as wisdom and integrity of administration.

With fully justified reasons our voters will scrutinize most critically the declarations and decisions of party conventions held this year. There is imperative need for revival of a feeling of high responsibility for maintaining political activity on a plane compatible with those ideals for which we as a republic stand. The following proposals constitute the legislative programme which labor urges as imperative and eminently constructive, and insists should be included in your platform:

To promote highest material progress which is the basis for national effectiveness as well as an agency for national service, we urge that industry and commerce be freed from legislative prohibitions that restrict development in conformity to economic requirements. To this end we propose the repeal of anti-trust legislation and the enactment of legislation that will provide regulation in public interest and legalize economic organization as well as the constructive activities of trade associations.

It is unescapable that an integral part of legislation establishing this economic policy is full recognition of the right of workers to assist themselves in unions for their protection and advancement both as workers and citizens and collectively to carry on the legitimate functions of trade unions. Perversion of the injunctive process to apply to personal relations in industrial disputes must be prohibited and equity procedure returned to its beneficent service in protection of property.

It is essential for the conservation of national virility that child life be protected. We therefore urge the ratification by the states of the joint resolution passed by the Congress, to amend the Constitution empowering the Congress to enact such legislation as will safeguard the future child life of our Republic.

Because the labor clauses of the transportation act of 1920 have proved ineffective, we ask their repeal and the enactment of legislation that will

afford opportunity for the voluntary organizations of management and employes to deal with problems of industrial relations.

We demand the enactment of legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one state into another shall be subject to the laws of the latter state exactly as though they had been produced therein.

In order to mitigate unemployment attending business depressions, we urge the enactment of legislation authorizing that construction and repair of public works be initiated in periods of acute unemployment.

In appreciation we urge adequate provision for the full rehabilitation of all injured in the service during the World War.

We urge proper recognition of the work of those in the civilian service of the government with adequate compensation based upon equitable classification.

We favor the enactment of more comprehensive compensation laws to provide for all workers not covered by state compensation acts. We demand more liberal provisions for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases.

We maintain that the Volstead Act is contrary to the desire of the majority of our citizens as well as the spirit of the eighteenth amendment, and we demand that it be modified to permit the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent alcohol.

We declare for the maintenance of freedom of speech, press, assemblage, and association. We oppose any regulation to restrict these fundamental rights, believing that individuals and groups should be responsible for their acts and utterances.

We oppose conscription except as a military measure for defensive war and oppose all proposals to initiate compulsory labor under whatever guise.

In order to maintain representative government based upon the will of the people, we advocate a constitutional amendment enabling Congress to re-enact by two-thirds vote any measure declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Labor favors graduated income and inheritance taxes and opposes the sales tax as well as all other attempts to place excessive burdens on those least able to pay.

We demand that our nation identify itself with international agencies and conferences to promote world peace. We urge membership in the League of Nations and participation in the world court.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*

Attest: FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

JAMES DUNCAN, *First Vice-President.*

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, *Second Vice-President.*

FRANK DUFFY, *Third Vice-President.*

WILLIAM GREEN, *Fourth Vice-President.*

T. A. RICKERT, *Fifth Vice-President.*

JACOB FISCHER, *Sixth Vice-President.*

MATTHEW WOLL, *Seventh Vice-President.*

MARTIN F. RYAN, *Eighth Vice-President.*

DANIEL J. TOBIN, *Treasurer.*

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

FRANK MORRISON,

JAS. O'CONNELL,

Executive Committee, A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.

In Memory of John Mitchell

Scranton, Pa., May 30, 1924



Mitchell Memorial Dedicated

On May 30, at Scranton, Pa., a magnificent memorial to the late John Mitchell was dedicated as a tribute to his work and service to the labor movement and to the cause of humanity.

The memorial was made possible by voluntary contributions gathered by a committee appointed by President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, in the 1914 convention. It was while that convention was in progress that the delegates were notified by telegram of the death of their beloved former leader.

The monument was designed by Peter B. Sheridan, of Hazleton, Pa. Mr. Sheridan was a member of the United Mine Workers when John Mitchell was president of that organization, working then as a slate picker. Illness took him from the mines, after which he took up the study of his present art.

The monument not only satisfies the most exacting criticism from the standpoint of art and meaning, but it is the product of union workmanship in every detail.

When the dedication ceremonies took place there were present the officials of the United Mine Workers, including President Lewis and Secretary Green, Secretary Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, and many other representative labor men from various parts of the country.

In behalf of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers, who was unable to attend the ceremony, sent to the committee in charge a tribute to the former miners' leader, in which he said:

Knowing intimately the early struggles of American miners to establish for themselves the rights of free workers, it was with sincere gratification I watched under John Mitchell's administration the fruition of those years of tense indomitable fighting. When he assumed the responsibility of the presidency of the mine workers, Mitchell was a young man, strong, resourceful, impelled by deep-seated sentiment to serve his fellow miners.

He came to office at the time when miners in the bituminous fields had just secured the present plan of collective bargaining in the central competitive field and under his wise constructive leadership that plan became an established practice in the industry. As I was actively identified with the work of organizing miners and had been in the anthracite district during the time when an organizer's life was considered of no value, I was in close touch with events that led to the anthracite strike of 1902, and the commission subsequently appointed. There was a real man in the White House at that time who felt that he had a higher duty to all Americans than that of merely maintaining order. In the conferences called by President Roosevelt at the temporary White House in an effort to adjust differences, John Mitchell proved himself a constructive leader, insistent in maintaining the just rights of those whose cause he represented and broad in his understanding of the inter-relation between the welfare of the miners and the whole nation. It was unusual leadership that secured for his cause the support of public opinion in a struggle that fundamentally affected an essential in modern life. The United Mine Workers emerged from that ten months' crucial struggle triumphant and its president established himself in the lasting affection and memory of the miners and won for himself the respect of the majority of our citizens.

In addition to his service to his own organization John Mitchell gave years of faithful service to the whole American labor movement as vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. He could be depended upon for constructive sincere counsel and that service earned for him respect and that love that is the great reward of service.

May the memory of John Mitchell ever serve as an inspiration to greater achievement.

Is Contempt of Court Unpardonable?

By W. B. RUBIN

ONE Grossman of Chicago was enjoined from continuing a liquor nuisance prohibited under the Volstead Act, and disobedience of that injunction caused him to be haled before now ex-Federal Judge Landis who sentenced him to a term of one year's imprisonment for contempt of court. President Coolidge granted a pardon to said Grossman, but two judges have overridden the President's pardon, holding that the President is without power to grant pardons in contempt, and by their judicial act have vacated the pardon and have remanded Grossman to jail to serve his term of imprisonment for one year for contempt of court.

With the political wisdom or with the merits of Grossman's right to executive clemency and with the political wire-stringing that brought about this pardon we are not concerned, but it is of deep concern whether the judiciary is supreme to the extent that any offense against the judiciary is beyond relief.

The courts assert the right to punish for contempt on the ground of the inherent power which such courts have, and that inherent power is not only traced to the Constitution, but to the very existence of the courts themselves. With grave apprehension, therefore, do they denounce any interference with that inherent power and contend that such interference would naturally tend to destroy not only the sanctity of the judiciary, but the very power that it can exercise.

If *A* commits the crime of murder and a jury convicts him, a judge sentences him to be hanged, and the highest court of the land affirms the verdict and the sentence, the President may grant an absolute and unqualified pardon.

The Constitution, by Article II, Section 2, says:

" . . . He shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, **except** in cases of impeachment."

The Constitution names but one exception—impeachment—and yet the judiciary maintains that while the President may pardon for the crime of murder and even for the crime of treason, he can not pardon for contempt of court on the theory that it is a defiance of the power of the court, the power to punish for contempt of court being inherent and essential to the very existence of the judiciary, and further because of the fear that if the President is allowed to substitute his discretion by pardon for contempt of court, then the President will ultimately become the source of judicial authority, which would be a distortion of the cardinal principle of the American Constitution that the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of Government are co-ordinate and proudly independent.

It is indeed a fine cleavage which severs the court's inherent power to punish for a crime after the jury has found the individual guilty, circumscribed in the quantum of punishment by constitutional and legislative limitations, from the inherent power of a court to punish for contempt for the violation of any act the court may judicially prohibit. It is a matter

for fearful apprehension, for while one convicted of a crime may appeal and assert every error in the case, if he is punished for contempt of court, the only question he can raise on appeal is whether the court had jurisdiction to punish for contempt, as the superior court will not review any other error of the court below.

A similar case arose in the state of Wisconsin in 1922, when a judge sentenced a striker to imprisonment for violating a labor injunction. The governor granted a pardon, but the Supreme Court, by a majority opinion, held that the pardon would not lie, drawing the distinction that it was a civil contempt and not a criminal contempt, because it arose out of a civil action, just as the Grossman case is properly called a civil case, leaving for inference that if it were a criminal contempt, the pardon would lie.

It may be argued with force that in a civil contempt, a pardon would not lie because in a civil contempt, one is not charged with crime, but has within himself the ability to purge himself from his contempt—that is to say, the court orders *A* to pay over into court the sum of one hundred dollars as alimony, let us say, or for some other reason, growing out of a money or property dispute between two parties to a law suit. *A* refuses to pay and the court may sentence him to jail, there to remain until he complies with the order of the court. It becomes very apparent that *A* has within himself the power to pardon or release himself from jail by compliance with the court's order, but where he is sentenced outright to jail, as in the Grossman case to one year, or as in the Wisconsin case to four months, without an alternative, there the end of the punishment is penal, and whether the action is in the name of a private party or in the name of the Government or the state, can make no difference, for having been punished and sentenced, *A* can do no further purging of himself on his part except to pay the penalty. The court can not pardon him, and if the governor or the President can not pardon him, there he must remain to the very end of his sentence, notwithstanding that the President has the constitutional power of pardon and that the governor is given by the Constitution of his state the power of pardon. Whether the President shall pardon one who commits the crime of murder, or pardon one who is sentenced to jail for contempt without any retrieving contingencies in the doing of an act still within the power of the contemnor to do, seems to be an equally disturbing factor in the performance of judicial duties and should be left to the good political taste as well as the conscience of the pardoning power.

In a democracy like ours there is no divine derivation of power. All power is derived from the people and the President has no power other than the people have given him. This is true also of the courts, and true, as well, of the judiciary. In framing our Constitution, first to be considered was the legislative power of Congress. The framers of our Constitution had in mind that the first consideration and of paramount importance was the source and power and rights of legislation and the enactment of congressional laws. Next in order came the executive power, and last in order (Article III of the Constitution), came the judicial power. It must be clear to everyone that since the Supreme Court is a creature of the Constitution, and the inferior

courts are the creatures of Congress, without Congress the Supreme Court would be the only court in existence, and except in rare cases, the Supreme Court takes no original jurisdiction in controversies.

Now this presents a very, very serious situation. The right to pardon is as inherent in the executive as is the right to punish for contempt inherent in a judge. If the court may rise above the Constitution to look for its inherent power, the executive by a much longer and older genealogy may trace to himself inherent rights and powers to pardon, for executives came into being long before judges. How can a court argue that the three branches of government are co-ordinate and proudly independent and yet deny to the President the right of pardon, when by the Constitution, independent of any judiciary, the President is given the right to pardon?

As it stands now, every offense is pardonable save impeachment, which the Constitution specifically prohibits from the pardoning power. A clearer case of usurpation of power by one branch of government over the other could not be imagined, for once you are within the jurisdiction of a judge, he may try you for contempt, and being his own prosecutor, witness, jury, and sentencer, he can keep you confined and imprisoned without any right or relief—while for every other known offense, you may assert with success all the constitutional rights and guarantees to which you are entitled.

It is, of course, an element of human nature, to acclaim to one's self all the power possible. Everyone, from his childhood to his grave, dreams of ubiquitousness and omnipotence. Kings were created because there were some who were able to put their dreams of ubiquity and omnipotence into temporal execution within their specified domains. Against such usurpation of power, peoples have fought since the dawn of civilization, and when our democracy was founded and our independence was proclaimed, it was thought that vested, inherent powers, unlimited in scope, were forever banished. In a democracy, unlimited power, whether called inherent or otherwise, has no place—for unlimited power, no matter where, tends to make the wielder of that power a despot, an autocrat, and a tyrant. From ancient kings there was no appeal, save in revolution, and if the court proclaims to itself that inherent power which is above the Constitution, then no constitutional amendment, by the same logic could curtail that inherent power of the court.

It surely presents a political question of tremendous importance. Shall men, creatures like ourselves, because of opportunity and the license to practice law, together with political advancement by appointment, once having ascended the bench, sit in judgment in a controversy and be freed from all constitutional and other obligations and restraints to their fellow men, save such as rest in their own conscience?

This inherent power is merely euphonious terminology for usurpation of power, for *lese judiciary*, for taking from the people that which has been guaranteed them by the Constitution. Must we wait until we shall have a President or a succession of Presidents who will appoint judges that will reverse the present rulings on this question of inherent power, thus leaving

it debatable—ever like the tossing billows depending upon the tide and weather—or shall this be settled once and forever?

Shall the judiciary be limited by a constitutional convention that shall specifically designate and enumerate the powers of the judiciary, defining its limitations as well as its inherent powers, beyond which no judge shall go without being liable for impeachment?

In a monarchy there are recognized but two divine rights, one the divine right of the king to rule and the other the divine right of his subjects to life. In a democracy there is but one divine right and that is of the people to life. All other rights are derived from the people themselves, for in a democracy the people govern themselves and all authority delegated is from the people. Hence it follows as an axiom that the delegatee, whether he be president, senator, or judge, can have no greater power than the people who gave it to him. If the peoples' inherent power is not divine, it is logically true that the judge's power, derived from the people—their will and their creature—is not divine.

A crime is an offense against a law directly enacted by the people through the pronouncement of their legislature. Contempt is an offense against an act indirectly created by the people through the pronouncement of their judge. But either is an offense against an act begotten by and of the people—namely, their government. Therefore, the people have the right to grant the offender in either of his offendings against the people, directly or indirectly, immunity or pardon therefrom. It must be borne in mind that we do not contend that a court should be shorn of its power to punish for contempt, but we do contend against an unabsolvable absolutism and a finality in the judiciary in the event of a conviction of contempt of court. In the spirit of charity all sins may be pardoned, even against God Himself. Surely, a judge is not super-divine.

No court in any other land would proclaim for itself such inherent power, such absolutism, for it would thereby encroach upon the superiority of its monarch or king, and in no other democracy has a judiciary so readily prescribed for itself such inherent power from which there is no redress.

In our democracy, how much longer shall the legislative and executive branches of government co-ordinate and independent of the judicial branch supinely submit to this ever-growing, self-acclaiming divine inherent power of the judiciary?

There is America, which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners, yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world.—*Edmund Burke*.

Charters have been granted from May 1 to and including May 31, as follows: Central labor unions, 3; local trade unions, 2; federal labor unions, 2; total, 7.

ON TO VICTORY!



CONGRESS HAS ACTED. THE
STATES MUST NOW HEAR
THE CRY AND FOREVER FREE
THE CHILDREN OF AMERICA
FROM THE BONDS OF TOIL

EDITORIALS

By
SAMUEL GOMPERS

With a national political campaign already well under way many eyes are turned in the direction of Labor's efforts in that struggle.

LABOR IN THE Various so-called third party movements are under
1924 CAMPAIGN way, none of them of any particular promise, but all more or less confusing in their locality.

Those who turn to these so-called third party movements proclaim their profound disgust with what they term the reactionary policy of the American Federation of Labor. They are impatient. And they fail to see that their

Now, as before, the average result of so-called third party adventures will be victory for reaction.

Practically this is what happens: The "third party" draws from the most progressive of the other candidates. The more conservative candidate loses no votes to a "third party" candidate.

Thus progressive votes are divided, the progressive cause weakened.

When progressives divide among themselves reaction wins. History records altogether too many sad cases of this "one foot forward and two feet backward" kind of frog-in-the-well advancement.

impatience is leading them to the kind of haste which makes only for delay.

The political policy of the American Federation of Labor will bear examination at all times. An examination at this time may be helpful to some who do not fully comprehend its meaning, or who have been beguiled by the phrases of the experimenters and dreamers.

It is the belief of the American Federation of Labor that the greatest results are to be achieved in politics by a devotion to principles rather than to parties and that the surest way to advance principles is to support those candidates who accept the principles and to oppose those who reject them.

There is nothing involved about this belief; nothing complicated about the practice. And it is the only way by which Labor can avoid the dissensions and schisms that inevitably must come from party partizanship. Parties must take positions on matters that are not in any sense purely Labor questions. For example, they must deal with the tariff, a matter on which Labor has taken no position for a great many years for obvious reasons.

The American Federation of Labor is a **Labor** organization. Its prin-

cial object is to protect and promote the interests of the toiling masses. It must, in the field of politics, press for those men and measures that advance the interests of the toiling masses. Labor has its broad interests of citizenship and general progress, but its first concern is solely with the welfare of the great masses of wage earners.

Principles for which Labor contends can not be the private property of any political party. These principles have to do with humanitarian and libertarian issues. They are neither Republican nor Democratic, neither socialistic nor populist. Not any more than they are Presbyterian or Baptist.

These principles must be considered by men and either accepted or rejected by men. If a whole political party organization wishes to support any or all of Labor's principles, that is entirely agreeable to Labor, but such an act could not put the party label on the principles to the exclusion of any other support.

Principles which Labor supports may, on the other hand, be rejected entirely by an entire party organization, but that can not signify that there has been any change in the principles. Politically, they remain as non-partisan as ever.

Representatives of all parties have espoused measures for which Labor has contended. Witness such measures as the Seamen's Act, the Eight-hour Act, the Clayton Act, the Suffrage Amendment, the recent Immigration Act, and the still more notable Child Labor Amendment to the United States Constitution.

In each case a larger percentage of one party voted for these measures than was mustered by the other party, but that did not make them party measures. Nor could it. Labor was interested in the success of the measures, not in the fortunes of a party.

Seldom has a Labor measure been fought through Congress as a strict party measure, either Republican or Democratic, and Labor has never had any wish that any party should seek to exclude any other party from sponsorship of and support for Labor's demands.

There is nothing inherent in any Labor demand to stamp it as impossible of acceptance by men of any political allegiance. There is nothing in any Labor demand to stamp it as Republican or Democratic. Nor is there anything in any Labor demand that inherently requires a new political party for its success.

It is all condensed in the simple statement that essentially Labor's demands are not political.

To enter into a partisan relationship with any political party—even a party which might call itself a Labor Party—would necessitate the espousal of propositions that were not an outgrowth of the labor movement and its requirements. The labor movement would have to participate in the fight for or against propositions of a purely political nature having nothing to do with Labor.

And regardless of what the intellectuals may say—they must be saying *something* at all times—there is no partisan political labor movement any-

where, in America, Europe, or elsewhere, that has yet demonstrated its real value to Labor or to the masses of the people generally. That is said, not as a criticism, but as a judgment on the results achieved.

The American trade union movement is a labor movement. It has to its credit achievements unrivalled anywhere else in the world. It has demonstrated the soundness of its own contention, which is that a labor movement can not also be something else and maintain its labor character and secure its labor results.

The so-called third party movements may gratify certain ambitions. They may suit certain purposes. If the time comes when neither of the now dominant parties responds to the will of the people, then the people will either rebuild one or both of them, or abandon both of them in a great revolt and rebuilding; but that will not be the sort of thing we know today as a third party movement. That will not be the carbonated performance of little coteries, nor the calculated political sabotage of revolutionists.

American labor has developed its non-partisan political policy out of long experience. If experience had shown a better method that better method would have been adopted. No movement in the world responds more readily to the teachings of experience than the American trade union movement; none is less afraid to blaze the way along new lines, if there is proof that those lines are sound.

In that connection the temptation is to speak frankly and to say that many of those who shout so loudly for partisan political action do so because they are afraid not to—they are afraid that they will lose caste in their surroundings, afraid they will no longer be considered good proletarians, good revolutionists, good uncompromisers. This is all very silly for human beings, but after all many human beings are silly and many are sadly lacking in conviction, purpose, and courage.

That is the political status of American labor as the great 1924 campaign gets under way. American Labor will be partisan to principles. It will fight to the finish against every candidate who is opposed to those principles; it will fight to the last for every candidate who is for them; and it is all the same whether these are candidates for the presidency, for Congress, or for the least and most humble office in the last small village on the furthest border line. And Labor is going to win tremendous victories this year!

A decided movement to place industrial relations on an industrial basis is apparently developing in Europe. Immediately following the revolution in Germany a Supreme Economic Council was created with semi-governmental powers in the realm of industry. That this Council has not been able to function as fully and effectively as was expected by its sponsors is probably due mainly to two causes. One of these has to do, undoubtedly, with the industrial instability which has scourged Germany almost continuously since the war and it is safe to say that the other involves the inability to foresee con-

**SIGNIFICANT
MOVEMENTS
IN EUROPE**

tingencies which are bound to arise and which in most cases must inevitably necessitate material changes and readjustments.

Information is now at hand indicating developments in the direction of national industrial councils in three other countries—Italy, France, and Ireland. This whole trend is without question in harmony with the thought expressed by the American Federation of Labor in the declaration on "Industry's Manifest Duty," adopted in the Portland convention in October, 1923. The one fundamental difference lies in the method of approach. The American labor movement has expressed its conviction that development toward industrial self-government must be evolutionary, or by the process of natural growth and development. In other words, American labor has expressed the conviction that one step must follow another and that it is not feasible, and perhaps not possible, to attempt to bring into being at a single stroke full-fledged industrial self-government or industrial democracy.

There is much reason to think that even in those countries where it is determined to attempt an immediate complete change in the basis of industrial control, much of the way will have to be retraced. Of course, the situation in any country is made vastly different if there is among both employers and wage earners a conscious and intelligent understanding of what is wanted and a practically unanimous desire to bring about sweeping change.

In Italy, for example, industrial councils composed of all elements represented in industry are demanded in the platform and program of the Fascist organization. One of the complaints of the Fascisti against the labor organizations as they were prior to the advent of the Mussolini government was the overwhelmingly political character of those organizations. It must be conceded that there was much justice in the Fascisti contention. The Italian unions had concerned themselves much more with political questions and political methods than with industrial questions and industrial methods, to the undoubted detriment of the Italian wage earners.

The American Federation of Labor has not accepted the Fascisti regime as a great exponent of democracy. It came into power by methods that in themselves constituted a renunciation of democracy and it has proclaimed upon more than one occasion its defiance of democratic methods. Allowance must be made, however, for conditions which surrounded the growth of the Fascist organization and its attainment of power. The effectiveness of parliamentary action had been largely destroyed. This was apparently due partly to Communist intrigue. The government itself had been reduced almost to impotence and was used much more as a means to personal power and aggrandizement than as a means to national welfare and development.

The government of Italy at present is in power as a result of a mandate from the people, expressed through an election, and what has passed can not discount what is to come if it is of constructive, democratic character.

The International Labour Office of Geneva, in its publication "Industrial and Labour Information," dated March 24, 1924, publishes a condensed account of the latest move of the Fascist organization toward the creation

of national industrial councils for the self-government of industry. That article, under the title "Proposed Industrial Parliament," is as follows:

Proposed Industrial Parliament

One of the most important innovations introduced by the National Fascist Party in Italy was the creation of groups of technical advisers attached to the central committee and local organizations of the party. These groups, formed for each sphere of national activity and composed of persons with specialized knowledge, were intended to perfect the union organization in a sense by giving, either on their own initiative or when requested, expert advice on bills of an economic or technical nature.

The groups were originally purely party organs, but at the last session of the Fascist Grand Council, on 12-15 November, 1923, it was decided to convert them into "National Technical Councils," and the central committee of the party was instructed to draw up a scheme for this purpose in agreement with the Executive Committee of the groups and the council of the national corporations.

The committee has not yet made known the results of its labors, but from indications given by certain of its members it is possible to gain some idea of the direction in which its studies are tending.

It would appear that the committee intends to propose the formation of a sort of occupational parliament with deliberative functions, which, according to a new conception of representative government, will become an essential organ of the sovereign authority of the state, side by side with the existing political parliament.

The technical councils will not emanate solely from the trade unions; as national bodies, they will also be representative of manufacturing organizations, universities, patriotic and educational organizations, benevolent societies, ex-servicemen's associations, syndicates, chambers of commerce, physical culture institutions, associations of municipalities, etc.

Central and local councils will be formed for provinces, regions and larger areas according to requirements.

The councils will be divided according to their competence to deal with questions concerning the following matters: Public administration, justice, public health, national education, the fine arts, agriculture, transport and communications, mines and metallurgy, the chemical, food and textile industries, welfare, finance, emigration, colonization, etc.

The chief duties assigned to the councils will be arbitration on industrial disputes and the drafting of legislative measures, two tasks hitherto entrusted to state officials. All decisions of a political order, the adoption of laws drafted by the councils, and the delimitation of the competence of the councils will be reserved for the political parliament.

Pursuing the subject the same publication publishes in its May issue the following further important information:

The commission to consider the organization of technical councils in Italy has submitted its report to the prime minister. It proposes to "introduce into the political and administrative system of the country a coordinated system of local and central representative organizations not based upon the shapeless mass of the population, but such as to express in a direct, orderly and harmonious manner the interests of the various classes of the nation, intellectual, technical and economic."

The commission takes the view that the establishment of technical councils does not involve the grouping of society in general on a trade union basis. At the same time, it thinks that the creation of such councils is most likely to favor

development in that direction, and is meantime the only possible method of reorganizing the nation on constitutional lines.

At the outset, the commission suggests, technical councils might be established on the basis of the representation of institutions, etc., together with the various trade groups, on condition that the latter should be gradually replaced by the new corporations (Fascist).

In France a movement in the same direction is apparently in progress and the steps being taken are briefly recounted in the "Press Report" of the International Federation of Trade Unions, dated May 15, 1924. "As times goes on," this report says, "It is recognized that economic questions play a more and more important part in the life of nations. The great men of today are not mere statesmen—they are the economic chiefs of their countries. This is already in many countries a recognized fact. Thus, in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, to speak of politics is practically the same thing as to speak of the industrial groups. In France, however, this tendency has not yet become so pronounced. A few industrial groups are, it is true, strongly represented in the government, but the parliamentarians pure and simple of the old school still possess a great deal of influence, and those who neglect this fact are apt to be out in their reckoning.

"The long-promised National Economic Council, which is now about to become a reality in France, is therefore an attempt to give the economic elements an influence which they would not otherwise obtain. Organized labour in France has in the past given its support to the idea; but now that it is about to be accomplished the workers doubt whether their scheme will be adopted. Writing in 'Le Peuple' on the subject, Comrade Jouhaux says: "We do not yet know what the composition of the National Economic Council will be. Will the next government adopt as its basis the proposals of the employers or those of the workers? . . . We consider, however, that an economic council is essential to the fulfillment of the tasks of the future.

"In view of the successes of Labour at the elections, there is good ground for the hope that the new institution will prove to be useful to the country."

It is particularly interesting to observe these declarations and these developments in countries where the organizations of labor have been most deeply tinged with political characteristics and where they have looked to politics so frequently for relief and advancement. The language of the International Federation of Trade Unions in discussing the situation in France will be observed with particular interest by American trade unionists. The first two sentences of the report express so thoroughly what has always been the contention of the American trade union movement and what has been with equal thoroughness so consistently ignored in Europe.

In Ireland a proposal of similar character has made less progress, but has nevertheless been put forward by an organization which in Ireland must command attention. Tom Johnson, Secretary of the Irish Labor Party brought forward that party's proposal for an "economic council" in Ireland in connection with discussions of the boundary dispute between the Irish Free State and the government of the north of Ireland.

"My own opinion," said Mr. Johnson, "is that any fears the northern

people may have that their economic and social interests will not be fairly dealt with by a united Parliament, would best be allayed by the adoption of a proposal which we (the Irish Labour Party) suggested during the constitutional debates.

"Our proposal was a national economic council, representing workers and employers in agriculture and industry, as part of the National Parliament. Before this council all legislation of an economic character would be laid.

"This would, no doubt, require changes in the constitution of the Free State. I am certain, however, that no great difficulty would be experienced in this respect.

"The northern workers have common interests with the southern workers, the northern farmers with the southern farmers.

"It is especially worthy of note," concluded Mr. Johnson, "that almost every social, economic, cultural, and religious institution in the country has retained its national unity and has refused to partition itself. It is only the Northern Political Party which insisted upon partition.

"Our desire is that a means should be found of expressing in the political institutions of the country the same unity which has been found possible in those other institutions."

We need not expect that these proposals and the steps already taken toward their adoption in European countries forecast any immediate sweeping reorganization of industrial relations on a more democratic basis. It is apparent, however, that wage earners, governments, and employers in these countries are to a considerable extent convinced that the solution of industrial problems lies in the further application of democratic methods in industrial relations and to that extent there is complete agreement on the part of the American Federation of Labor, which, from the very beginning, has turned its eyes and shaped its efforts in that direction.

The supremacy of industrial life, long recognized by American labor, is becoming more and more clear to European wage earners, partly, no doubt, as a result of their repeated failure to usher in a much heralded new era through political action. If the European methods of developing self-government in industry differ from those methods which American trade unionists believe should be adopted in our own country, we must concede the right of the wage earners of each country to adopt those methods which in their own circumstances and conditions seem best adapted to achieve the desired results. We must concede to them the right even to make the most serious mistakes.

Whether right or wrong the developments now taking place and to which attention has here been called, are of the most important character and they will be followed everywhere with the deepest interest.

When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.—*Edmund Burke.*

There is nothing blatant about the reaffirmation by the United States Chamber of Commerce of its "open shop" declaration. Perhaps this may be taken as something of an admission by the Chamber that it went out of its field in adopting that declaration and that while it is not yet ready to recant, it has little desire to keep the issue to the front. It is to be hoped so, for the United States Chamber of Commerce has an ample field for constructive, useful service.

It is perfectly proper for the United States Chamber of Commerce to express the views of its members on questions of public interest. It is much better that business, Big and little, state its position openly than that it resort to the secretive ways of paid lobbying, too much of which is still done.

The United States Chamber of Commerce in its recent Cleveland convention went on record as opposed to adjusted compensation for World War veterans and it opposed any change in the power of a Supreme Court majority to kill laws enacted by Congress. The Chamber had the right to express these views. Labor can not agree with either expression and it recognizes in both of them the viewpoint of a rather narrow-minded business world that has been thus far all too little touched by considerations of either broad humanity or constructive, democratic social progress. Big business particularly feels that the present practice of the Supreme Court is good for Big Business and doubtless Big Business is right about it. But it is not good for humanity and it is not good for democracy. Those are things about which Labor is concerned, and so Labor and Business differ about the practice of the United States Supreme Court.

It was this same convention of business men that listened to the encouraging and enlightened address delivered by Herbert Hoover and which was commented upon in the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST* last month. If Mr. Hoover's address had been really understood by these "leading citizens" who are presumed by so many to be possessed of so much intelligence, the United States Chamber of Commerce would have buried its "open shop" policy and it would have ceased to regard Supreme Court decisions as a necessary bulwark.

Two other industrial issues found the Chamber on the reactionary side. These were railroad legislation and workmen's compensation. Just why the Chamber feels it necessary to go to the defense of great private insurance interests is not clear. When private insurance interests seek to retain their grip on the misfortunes of ill and injured workers they are in a field of operations that calls for no defense from any body of men whose outlook savors at all of progress and moral integrity.

In certain undeveloped sections of the country the lives of buzzards are protected by law, but surely such protection is not necessary in the field of industry.

As to railroad legislation, the Chamber of Commerce based its opposition to the Barkley-Howell bill on misunderstanding. Its resolutions declare that the public was given no representation in the adjustment of

disputes under the terms of that bill, while the truth is that the board of last resort was entirely representative of the public, no persons engaged in rail-roading being eligible to appointment under the clearly stated provisions of the measure.

When business—meaning industry and commerce—come to recognize the validity of Labor's philosophy of industrial self-government and self-direction, it will not be necessary for business to bind itself in blindness and ignorance to the past. Nor will it be necessary for business to maintain the army of lobbyists that now infests the national capital and that infests every legislative hall to some degree.

When the decisions of industry can be made openly and fearlessly by industry then those who are engaged in industry will find it not only possible, but necessary to pitch their thought on an entirely different mental and moral plane. It will then be not only possible but necessary to abandon many of the devious practices of today. It will be possible, too, and necessary, to understand facts as they are and to cease torturing facts out of their true form to suit a fancied expediency.

May there be a hastening of the day of understanding.

What Americans think of the so-called "American plan" of mismanaging industry was shown in unmistakable fashion at the recent municipal election in San Jose, Calif.

**VOTERS REPU-
DIATE UNION
HATERS**

The issue was the "American plan" versus trade unionism and trade unionism won hands down, the "American plan" taking a walloping from which it will be along time recovering.

The Industrial Association, composed of organized labor's enemies in the California city, lines up solidly behind its candidate for city councilman. Labor and other elements opposed to the "open shop" alias the "American plan," actively supported the candidacy of William J. Bigger, member of Carpenters' Union No. 316, of San Jose, and a consistent and aggressive trade unionist. Mr. Bigger was elected by a handsome majority.

The San Jose election is said to have been the first in which the people of any community have had the opportunity to show their opinion of the so-called "American plan." The people showed no hesitancy in utterly repudiating the scheme and voting in favor of an American who stood foursquare for American trade unionism and American standards of living.

The foes of organized labor poured out money in a desperate effort to elect their candidate and thereby bolster up their cause. Scurrilous attacks were made on the Labor candidate in full page advertisements appearing in the daily press and lying statements affecting him were circulated at the eleventh hour of the campaign, in the hope that a sufficient number of votes could be swung to defeat Mr. Bigger.

The result of the election was convincing proof of the sound common sense of the San Jose voters and of their ability to recognize falsehood and un-American principles. The high-sounding claims made for the "American plan" by its advocates had no influence on them, as they had seen with their own eyes the disastrous effects of the so-called "plan."

For three years the decent, law-abiding citizens of San Jose had observed

the "American plan" in operation and they were heartily sick of the whole scheme. They had seen trade and business suffer during the attempt to make San Jose an "American plan" city. What was worse, they had seen bitter hatred and soul-searing distrust stirred up in a community that believed in living in peace and harmony.

Every result of the "open shoppers" campaign, camouflaged under the misleading name, "American plan," had shown the citizens the futility and madness of the whole elaborate plot to disrupt organized labor. So it was no wonder that when the citizens were given the opportunity to express their sentiments, they struck hard against the iniquitous "American plan" and all its advocates.

There is no doubt that the citizens of every American community where the "American plan" has been tried would vote as did San Jose if given the chance of voting on the "plan." Though at first persons may have been deceived by the specious platitudes and glittering generalities of the "American planners," they are now fully cognizant of the meaning of the scheme and they will have none of it. Let the San Jose election be a warning to those misguided individuals who still think the American people can be persuaded to support an attack on American trade unionism and the principles for which it stands.

AGAIN THE
8-HOUR
DAY WINS

The Fatigue Industrial Research Board of Great Britain has recently published a report entitled "A Comparison of Different Shift Systems in the Glass Trade," by E. Farmer, M. A. The report is made under the authority of the British "Medical Research Council" and is one of a number of reports issued by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board since 1920.

In the book catalogue of His Majesty's Stationary Office, there appears this legend:

Medical Research Council. Report for the year 1922-1923. Committee of the Privy Council for Medical Research.

The Research Board is evidently, therefore, a government body of standing.

In the preface of the report, the Industrial Fatigue Research Board says:

The present report tends to show that there is almost consistently an increase in the hourly rate of output (as well as a decrease in the amount of spoiled work) in the eight-hour shift as compared with the ten-hour shift. The effect on output of shifts of different length has already been investigated for the board by Dr. H. M. Vernon in the tin-plate (1) and steel (2) industries, where the conditions of work have many features in common with those in glass manufacture. In these investigations comparison was made between shifts of length other than ten and eight hours, but the same effect was apparent in nearly every instance, namely an increase in hourly output on the shorter shift as compared with the longer. Very similar conclusions have been reached by the Committee of the Federated American Engineering Societies which recently reported on the 12-hour shift in continuous industries (3).

In themselves, these increases are usually insufficient to compensate for the shorter hours worked, so that the total output per shift is generally less on the shorter than on the longer. In continuous processes of the kind concerned,

however, where production is maintained throughout the 24-hour cycle, hourly output rather than shift output is the more important factor. In such processes, the advantage clearly lies with the shorter shift, and in the particular instance dealt with in the present report, where previously to the adoption of the shorter shift the work was not carried on continuously but only during 20 hours out of the 24, this advantage becomes still more pronounced.

In the summary at the conclusion of the report the Board says:

Within the limits of the data obtained during this inquiry it is clear that the relative hourly efficiency in bottle blowing has been increased by shortening the hours of work, though this increase is in no case so great as to bring the output of the eight-hour shift to the level of the ten-hour shift. It must, however, be borne in mind that the plant in factories employing the three shift system is being productively used for 24 hours per day, whereas in factories employing the two shift system it is only being productively used for 20 hours a day. From this it follows that the total output per day is greater with the three shift system than with the two shift system.

These findings sustain the contentions long made by the American Federation of Labor and supported in America by numerous proofs in plants where records have been kept and studies made.

Scientifically, the production advantages of the shorter work day are no longer open to question. But more important than production records are the records of increased human happiness, health, and general well-being, including intellectual growth and stimulation.

The shorter work day is usually accompanied in its coming by improved working conditions. That educational development which leads to the one, naturally leads to the other in most cases. These taken together make for greater longevity, more sound health, a more wholesome and hopeful outlook on life, and better citizenship.

The evidence now put forth by the Medical Research Council adds materially to the magnificent vindication of one of the greatest and most important contentions of the labor movement. Gradually, but surely, the gates open to a fairer chance for the toiling masses, a better life for them, and a consequent greater service to society by them. The benefit and the glory of progress sheds its beneficent rays finally upon all people everywhere. No true measure of human progress can long confine its benefits to a few.

All large employers do not believe in low wage scales. Those who do often make so much noise about their erroneous belief that the public is sometimes led to think that so-called "captains of industry" are unanimous in favoring low wage rates.

**MR. SWOPE SEES
THE LIGHT**

As a matter of fact, thinking employers know that highly paid labor is the most efficient and productive and the payment of high wages is good business policy. They also realize that high wages mean prosperity for industry and the nation.

Gerard Swope, president of the great General Electric Company, recently declared in an interview that wages are the measure of a nation's civilization and that high wages do not necessarily mean high costs.

This is a truth that organized labor has been preaching for many years,

with the result that even large employers are coming around to its viewpoint. Evidently Mr. Swope is in full accord with Labor on this point, as he went on to say:

"There is no reason why high earning power should not be combined with low manufacturing costs on the part of the employer. It seems to me that very often there is far too much attention given to methods of production. The so-called labor problem is an intensely human one and it must be solved on a human basis or not at all."

Continuing, Mr. Swope pointed out that reduction in costs opens a larger field for the manufacturer, a fact that has been frequently emphasized by Labor in pointing out the efficacy of high wages.

"There is one effect of reducing costs by improving methods of manufacture," he said, "which curiously enough does not seem to be generally appreciated. When you reduce costs, prices may also be reduced and you are then able to reach another and much larger class of consumers."

Mr. Swope's remarks indicate that the truisms taught by Labor are penetrating the ranks of those who have believed that self-interest dictated opposition to the payment of high wages. Other large employers have voiced similar sentiments in recent months. Thus organized labor is seeing its educational work bear fruit not only in the ranks of the workers, but also in the ranks of those who too often regard themselves as opponents of labor.

Enemies of organized labor who profess to believe that employers and union labor can not cooperate in any line of human endeavor will find cold comfort in a recent statement by Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

Discussing the cooperative shop plan, which, after a year's successful trial in the Glenwood shops of the Baltimore & Ohio, was put into effect in the shops of the entire system, Mr. Willard said:

"In the six weeks the plan has been in general operation in the forty-five shops of the system it has succeeded beyond our expectations. Experience has convinced me that the plan will succeed in a large way."

Mr. Willard's statement was the plainest kind of an answer to those who have been seeking to create the impression that the B. & O. cooperative plan was not working. In a few words he effectually disposed of the misleading statements of the Gloomy Gusses and added the prediction that the plan will succeed on a large scale, even as it has succeeded on a smaller one.

The B. & O. agreement is just the kind of cooperation that foes of unionism have declared would never, never work. It gives unqualified recognition to the place of organized labor in industry and provides for the closest kind of contact between workers and management. Essentially, the agreement concedes that the bona fide unions are the real representatives of the workers and if there is to be cooperation, it must be through the real unions. The preamble of the agreement states the case as follows:

"The welfare of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and its employes is dependent on the service which the railroad renders the public. Improve-

ments in this service and economies in operating and maintenance expenses result chiefly from willing cooperation between the railroad management and the voluntary organizations of its employes. When the groups responsible for better service and greater efficiency share fairly in the benefits which follow their joint efforts improvements in the conduct of the railroad are greatly encouraged. The parties to this agreement recognize the foregoing principles and agree to be governed by them in their relations.

The railroad unions have been just as pronounced as Mr. Willard in their expressions of satisfaction and hopefulness.

The success of the Baltimore & Ohio plan is an augury of a better day in railroading and constitutes a knockout blow to the arguments of those who say that it is impossible for employers and organized labor to work in the closest cooperation. As such the plan deserves to be watched with the closest interest by all friends of progress and democracy in industry.

CANNED CHILDHOOD

By SARAH N. CLEGHORN

Beneath the label "Oysters," "Shrimps,"
Or "Beans," or "Peas," or "Corn,"
Is canned a pound of frolic missed

Upon a summer morn:
Lost fund and frolic, soldered tight
Where no child finds them morn or night.

A pound of health, a pound of strength,
From cradles snatched we find:
A pound of young intelligence
Robbed from a childish mind.
Packed here together, snugly fit
Teresa's eyesight, Tony's wit.

And wasted sunshine here is canned,
With wasted smells of flowers;
The wasted sparkle of green fields
Washed bright by early showers.
And pleasant scampers never run,
And shouts unheard in breeze and sun.

Yea, in the cans are voices hid
Of little sons and daughters,
That should be singing "London Bridge,"
"I spy" and "Sally Waters,"
"Where oats, peas, beans and barley grows"
'Tis you nor I nor nobody knows.

Come buy, my fellow-countrymen!
Canned childhood's selling cheap,
And what though little Jack should tire
And fall too fast asleep?
There's work for little Marianne,
Come buy sweet childhood by the can.

Heading West

CHESTER M. WRIGHT

IN SENEGAMBIA they don't care who wins the great American classic next November, and no doubt they don't even know that the contest preliminary to that event is even now at white heat.

To the Indian philosopher four hundred years pass as but a short time. So, even if the first hundred years *are* the hardest, there's enough of satisfaction, complacency and well-being to look forward to.

Yes, we are to have an election. Soon it will be a past event. Those who are excited today will find their calmer moments. Oratory will subside. Burning issues will consume themselves. In the end rest and peace will return. The government at Washington will still live and all will be well with the world—at least as well as it is at present.

The setting sun will find a country as serene and competent on the day after election as on any other day.

But, meanwhile, the fight is on and those who neglect their opportunity to make it a good fight while it lasts fail in their duty and deserve the censure of all those who want a good fight or none at all.

* * *

As a Curtain Raiser Congress Went Home

THE campaign could not get properly under way until Congress divested itself of its Washington habiliments and betook itself back to the home boroughs.

Thus it came to pass that on a rainy day in early June the members held their final session in which evidently they forgot everything but their campaign speeches.

Having brought about a precipitate and unpolished adjournment, the Hon. Peter Fencefixer bought himself a railroad ticket and began to prepare himself against that time

When the rotten hustings shake

In another month to his brazen lies,

as Mr. Tennyson had it. Ah yes, the Honorable Peter and his fellow campaigners will soon be "all things to all men," as many faceted as a diamond, but not nearly so promising as to purity.

Their jaws will snap at the evils of the future, while their records reek of participation in the evils of the past. Somewhere in the outer spaces Long John Silver will turn an envious eye and shake a hateful wooden leg.

* * *

The Bo'sun Pipes and the Tars All Sing

AT THIS hour there probably are more eager volunteer sailors ready to man the good old ship of state, sacrificing themselves heroically and with

what dashing demeanor they can muster, than at any other time within the memory of man.

And, full many of them, in the silences of their rooms, where there are no reporters, will sing in singles, doubles and close harmony quartets, that most appropriate old chanty which runs always to the refrain,

Yo ho and a bottle of rum,

to say nothing of the line about

Sixteen men on a dead man's chest,

the connotation of which in the present instance will not be lost upon a discerning audience.

But, whatever may be the desires of Robert Marion LaFollette, that stormy petrel of the political seas, the dead man on whose recumbent and feebly protesting chest the sixteen are to sit in noisy celebration will not be the Hon. Albert Fall. It will, more likely, be a purely metaphorical dead man.

Senator LaFollette, himself, however, may be expected to rally his protesting oarsmen, not merely to sit on the chest of Albert, but to romp all over it, to camp on it, to make of it a veritable stamping ground.

* * *

Sail On, Oh, Ship of State!

BUT to get back to our volunteers. They range all the way from good to bad, through the various stages of indiffer-ent qualifications. Some want the job

for the sake of the job, some for the sake of the prestige, some for the good of the party, some for the good of the machine, some for the good of their friends and some for the good of the ship.

Anyhow, there'll be no lack of a crew when the "signing on" is all finished next November. And they'll stick—goodness, how they'll stick.

Even if the craft should get ablaze they'd stick. There would be no chance for a youthful hero to balance himself dramatically on the blistering deck from whence all but he had made their get-away. Not much! These are all heroes.

All in all, we are confronted with rollicking, frolicking volunteers, ready to board 'er with rousing cheers: orating, gyrating volunteers, some of 'em swabs and some of 'em steers; but all such gallant volunteers.

So a song and a hail for the ship of state, with a crew so ready to help mould fate. Yo ho, but no bottle of oil. Volunteers with declarations and resounding proclamations, hasten forward to assure us, yes, even to abjure us, they'll accept the state's emolument for toil; with their surcharged exclamations, their perfervid perorations, they lay bare their great ambition to serve without condition, to defend, cost what it may, their native soil.

It's a great day, friends and fellows. E'en the frigid Mellon mellows, and the ringing rafters ring like bells in tune. We're excited, but united, and determined as a bumble bee in June, that early in November, the date let's all remember, our good ship shall weigh her anchor, and with gently flapping spanker, sail away with a selection, the results of our election, which we hope will be no worse than the cabin boy and purser that we've had since that November when the last poor dying ember of our judgment left us muddled, and so hopelessly befuddled, that we left the ship of state to the happenstance of fate, caring naught what piper called the tune.

* * *

Congress Was a Little Flock of Strangelings.

THE effects of the anaesthetic having seemingly passed, let us return to lucid discourse, if one may discourse lucidly about a subject as discouraging as the recent congress.

The campaign in which we now find ourselves has for its inescapable prelude the congress which adjourned just before Mr. Coolidge was nominated so precisely and methodically at Cleveland.

The congress drew three presidential vetoes and a lot of frosty New England condemnation from the White House. There wasn't very much to the credit of either congress or the White House in these vetoes and the less either of them tries to make capital of them the better for both.

The most finished piece of business the recent congress did was to bring the tumultuous wave of anti-oil indignation down from its towering heights, in easy stages until it died out at the finish with scarcely a lapping ripple on the adjacent pebbles.

That was a diminuendo performance of finish and finesse. It will long stand in exemplification of the mastery of the Old Guard. There is temptation to set it down as a striking proof of the supremacy of mind over matter.

It is doubtful if there came out of that congress one constructive act inspired from within its own ranks, if the immigration bill is excepted; and that need be excepted only in part.

In its closing hours it made such unseemly haste that legislation affecting thousands of wage earners was left in a state of disrepair and wreckage that almost beggars description. If these be statesmen, give us carpenters and bricklayers!

* * *

Gather at the Derrick Boys, Oil's Well!

IN THE closing hours of the session, as has been noted, the Walsh report was frozen out. Perhaps it's just as well, for it wasn't the kind of report to stir the blood; nor yet the kind of report to bestir in the hearts of the citizenry any great hope in a better deal for the future.

Senator Walsh, who had been prosecutor during the hearings, turned judge in writing the report. And Judge Walsh seemed to find that a lot of the testimony that Prosecutor Walsh had dug up and flung far and wide wasn't really much good after all.

There were some splendid recommendations as to policy, however. It is recommended that no more oil lands be leased. It is whispered in the whispering chambers

that this recommendation is equivalent to recommending that the barn be locked after the horse is stolen. But let us not be hypercritical. It all helps the locksmiths who are trying so hard to get along.

Mr. Fall gets a good sound drubbing, but Judge Walsh has only comparatively mild comment on the doings of Assistant Secretary Roosevelt and on the doings of Daugherty and Denby. President Coolidge asked Daugherty to get out of the cabinet and Denby didn't wait to be asked. Both, if they had waited, would find but little in the Walsh report to make necessary their resignations.

The simple, solemn truth is that the Walsh report is a flat fizzle. It doesn't sound like Walsh and some of our best-known ex-cabinet members have a perfect right to claim a vindication at the hands of the enemy.

Thus does the fearful tempest lose its fury and the heavy clouds their portent. And the padded stand-patter-patter of the reactionary newspapers whispers multitudinous muffled exultations.

Galloping Dominoes, Do Your Duty!

SO WE approach the heat of the battle which ends in the hour of decision next November.

As matters stand the whole thing seems a gamble—a case of getting what the galloping dominoes deign to mete out to our waiting hands.

Baby may get a new pair of shoes, or baby may lose the shoes it already has.

If the fates are kind we shall win; if not, we shall lose. Trite, sirs, but true. Perhaps another way to say it would be, if Demos keeps cool there will be a winning; but if Demos goes on a jamboree, there will be no light in the window that night.

The path of duty leads but to the polls, but what power is there in heaven or earth to make stubborn humanity partake of duty's drink once within the shrouded secrecy of those curtained stalls? As the cubes roll to rest, so goes the answer to the great interrogation.

Conventions of International Unions, 1924

July ———, Chicago, Ill., International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.

July ———, ———, American Federation of Teachers.

July 1-10, Atlantic City, N. J., Continental Hotel, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

July 8-18, Atlantic City, N. J., Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.

July 14-21, New York City, Piano, Organ and Musical Instrument Workers' International Union of America.

July 15-20, ———, Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

July 21-27, Boston, Mass., International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America.

July 21-26, Atlanta, Ga., International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union.

August 6-11, Chicago, Ill., International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

August 11-16, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, International Typographical Union.

August 18-23, Los Angeles, Calif., International Photo-Engravers' Union.

August 25-30, Pressmen's Home, Tenn., International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

September 1-14, Saratoga Springs, N. Y., Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

September 8, Kansas City, Mo., International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

September 8-15, New York City, United Textile Workers of America.

September 8-13, Detroit, Mich., International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

September 8-15, St. Louis, Mo., Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

September 8-18, Montreal, Canada, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

September 8-18, Kansas City, Mo., International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

September 8-22, Indianapolis, Ind., United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

September 9-19, Indianapolis, Ind., Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America.

September 12-16, Kansas City, Mo., International Association of Fire Fighters.

September 15, Detroit, Mich., International Association of Machinists.

September 15-22, ———, United Brick and Clay Workers of America.

October 7-10, ———, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

Book Reviews

SCIENTIFIC BOOKS OF INTEREST TO WORKERS

In no field is there more important new information than in the field of science. Changes and additions to scientific facts and new understanding of the laws of nature make necessary revisions in our understanding of life and work.

In the past few years has come a new physics, based upon a new understanding of matter. Physicists have broken down the traditional differences between matter and energy. Atoms no longer are considered indivisible units. A number of scientists have been investigating "the interior of the atom." This led to "the most important generalization in the history of chemistry since Mendeleef's Periodic Law," the idea that the chemical properties of an element depend upon the number of free charges of positive electricity upon its nucleus. This shows us that there are ninety-two possible elements from hydrogen, the lightest, to uranium, the heaviest, and they are now all known but four.

In our new physics the atom is a miniature solar system with a nucleus of positive electricity about which particles of negative electricity revolve with the characteristic speed of electricity.

In this strangely new world the physicists have given us, creative chemists have been improving upon Nature's work and giving many new kinds of materials. From coal chemists have derived a bewildering array of bi-products trying to waste nothing. From cellulose they have given us paper, materials for compounding dynamite, collodion, artificial silk, lace and cotton and various kinds of artificial leather. Chemical warfare research has given us chlorine gas which kills or cures divers respiratory ills, according to the quantity.

This scientific information constitutes really important news. Too often it is not available to general readers because scientists usually speak in the technical terms of their work. The Century Company has, however, been publishing a number of books, written by those who can speak with authority in their particular field, which open to all the tremendous changes in the realm of science.

Trade unionists who wish to keep informed will find in these books, written in a simple, charming style giving in concise form, facts necessary to understand our industrial civilization.

Creative Chemistry, by Edwin E. Slosson, director of Science Service, a chemist who can also create real literature, contains chapters on

Three Periods of Progress
Nitrogen
Feeding the Soil
Coal-Tar Colors
Synthetic Perfumes and Flavors
Cellulose
Synthetic Plastics
The Race for Rubber
The Rival Sugars
What Comes From Corn
Solidified Sunshine
Fighting With Fumes
Products of the Electric Furnace
Metals, Old and New,

and reading references.

"Chats on Science" by Edwin E. Slosson, contains eighty-five short sections which tell in a way that arrests attention and stirs imagination, science news that all can understand. It contains the salient points of Einstein's theory (Einstein whom J. S. Haldane called the greatest Jew since Christ); the singing crystal; new light on the origin of life; Faraday's razors; how atoms are built, women as chemists, Betelgeuse, soda-water, an inventory of energy—these titles indicate the wide sweep of the subjects presented. In no other book could the general reader find such dependable and important information that can be read for entertainment as well as for educational purposes.

The A. B. C. of the Atom by Bertrand Russell will serve those who wish to know still more about electrons.

Lead—a Precious Metal—by O. C. Horn is a most illuminating account of the many services of that metal. Lead used in paint, in building construction, in solders, in printing, in chemical industries, in ammunition, in musical instruments, in glass, pottery, enamels, in rubber, lead essential to automobiles, to electrical systems—this assemblage of services gives the worker who uses lead a new concept of the material.

A NEW GILLETTE MESSAGE

THE PEOPLE'S CORPORATION, by King C. Gillette, Boni & Liveright,
New York City

Having for a long period of years taken advantage of our "acquisitive system" to sell to people an invention at about five times the price at which his "safety" is selling without patent privileges, Mr. Gillette has capitalized his experiences in the form of a business reorganization and is trying to sell that to the world. His first-hand knowledge is manifest in the powerful indictment he makes of present industrial wastes. He tells us, "The point is that the profit system sets its highest value on the acquisitive instinct and mankind is thereby the loser."

He figures the idlers on the payroll of industry:

What do the figures show? Income in the United States in the form of dividends, profits, interest, and business savings for all industries, amounted in 1918 to more than twenty-seven billion dollars, or nearly half the total output of these industries, which was a little over sixty billions. That is, out of every dollar's worth of goods produced fifty-five cents goes to labor, and forty-five cents to shareholders, owners, and investors, who in most cases have contributed no labor whatever to the earning of that dollar. When we spend a dollar, we pay fifty-five cents to labor, and forty-five cents in the form of a tax to non-producers.

Then he figures those engaged in the following occupations which he calls superfluous:

Bankers, brokers and money lenders, clerks in stores, commercial travelers, decorators, drapers and window dressers, floorwalkers, foremen and overseers, inspectors, gaugers and samplers, proprietors, officials, and managers in warehouses, etc., retail dealers, salesmen and saleswomen, wholesale dealers, exporters, and importers, insurance agents and officials.

The 1920 census tells us that there are, in this country, 122,519 lawyers, judges, and justices. It can not be denied that they run a part of our plant, and quite a large

part, too. But we should miss none of the physical necessities of life and none of the intellectual or artistic delights if the whole crew sank tomorrow to the bottom of the sea. In short, they are non-productive. If we add their number to the 3,552,952 non-producers, we should get a total of 3,675,471. It is the writer's belief that lawyers and judges, as well as nearly everybody engaged in the industry of government, are needed only because the profit system develops the acquisitive impulse to such an extent as to tempt men to crime and to lead them into tiresome lawsuits for the acquisition or defense of property.

Inefficiency in the government he presents thus:

Among the government departments, those engaged in actual government are, for the most part, busy protecting property and are a non-productive, dead-weight load which our payroll must carry. On the other hand, the Department of Agriculture or the Department of the Interior does really valuable research and administrative work and makes us all richer for its efforts. The Post Office, of course, renders an invaluable service with real efficiency. The Department of Justice, we have seen is absolutely non-productive. The Department of Labor spends its time investigating industrial conditions which need investigation solely because the profit system tempts employers to drive their workers too hard, to pay them too little, and to expose them to fatigue, disease, and accident. (To be sure, the Immigration Bureau of the Department of Labor is a productive part of the world factory.) The State Departments of Labor maintain inspectors as well as research divisions, but inspectors, again, would be unnecessary, were it the concern of the employer to protect the worker and to serve the public, as it is the concern of the government official who inspects plants.

The Department of Commerce spends most of its time on a non-productive industry. To be sure, some of its work facilitates transportation, though a great deal of it goes into avoiding disputes which arise only because their railroads or some other industry consider their own gain before public welfare. No one can consider the Department of War or the Department of the Navy as productive. **Destructive** would be a fitter word.

Following his indictment Mr. Gillette makes a motion that we, the producing people of the United States, form a People's Corporation:

Constitution

First: The People's Corporation shall have plenary power and its functions shall be exercised by, and be vested in, a People's Corporate Congress, composed of qualified representatives from associate units of the People's Corporation, as provided by by-laws to be enacted by such corporate Congress.

Second: All property and wealth of the world in individual or corporate ownership shall be acquired by purchase, and thereafter belong collectively to the people thereof; and no individual or association of individuals, as such, shall own or possess in his, her, or their individual right, exclusive title to anything of value, other than movable personal effects and credits of labor units with the corporation, with which to purchase from the corporation the products and services to meet individual needs and desires.

Third: The control of all property, industry, and production shall be vested in the People's Corporation.

Fourth: The use of the property of the world and its products shall be on a basis of equal right and privilege to all peoples.

Fifth: The People's Corporation shall be the only employer of labor and the only owner and seller of products.

Mr. Gillette outlines specific promises of revolutions that may be expected from his plan—just the sort of things that lovers of humanity want to see happen. But he fails to even suggest the technology for reaching those goals. He fails completely to take into account the problems of man-

agement necessary to achieve any desired result in production. His plan proposes no essentially new principle. In credit and finance, Charles Ferguson makes much more concrete proposals. A group of engineers is practicing much that is necessary to give the "People's Corporation" even a breath of life.

Mr. Gillette's "People's Corporation" is a contribution to economic literature analyzing the defects of business organization.

MR. BARNES SEES A GOOD WORLD.

THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS; By Julius H. Barnes. Country Life Press, Doubleday Page & Co.

Mr. Barnes has written a book which is largely an exultation over the achievements of American business. One can read the book, which is exceedingly readable, and go along with Mr. Barnes in almost all of what he has to say. He devotes much space to facts and figures and with them there is no quarrel. Nor, in the main, is there any dispute with his philosophizing paragraphs.

But Mr. Barnes wrote in an exultant mood—a mood conducive to possible forgetfulness of certain considerations which do not add to the roseate picture.

He is energetically opposed to state domination of industry—and so is Labor. But Mr. Barnes, holding that industry must be left largely free from state domination, does not make it clear that "industry" includes labor and that in the industrial self-control that must come Labor must help make the decisions.

Mr. Barnes may have it in his mind that Labor must function fully in the development of industrial order, and he has said many things which lead to that conclusion. He might have made it clearer in his book.

But the book is, nevertheless, a valuable contribution to the literature of industrial self-government, a strong force in the growing condemnation of stateism. The pages recounting American industrial achievement are pages in which all Americans may join with pride. The pages that tell about the growing material well-being of our people are fine pages. But it should be remembered that when wage earners seek to improve their wage standards they are simply trying to get into those pages, to take their place in the picture of a happy people, making all manner of good things, **and using them.**

Nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm.—*Emerson.*

Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it.—*Emerson.*

Report of the Legislative Committee

THE adjournment of congress June 7 was a great setback for labor legislation. The big stick of the administration forces forced the adjournment for political reasons while much remedial legislation was nearing final action.

The 286,000 postal employes, over half the number of employes of the United States government, were denied an increase in wages through a veto by the president. The bill had passed the House by a vote of 361 to 6 and the Senate 73 to 3. Immediately after the veto message was sent to congress in the closing hours of the session orders were given that under no circumstances should a vote be permitted to pass the bill over the veto. The vote by which the bill was passed was so overwhelmingly favorable that it was well understood by everyone that should a vote have been taken the veto would not have been sustained and after July 1 the postal employes would have received something more like an adequate wage than is now paid. The president declared in his veto that the postal employes were not entitled to an increase.

Labor has always contended that the postal department was created for service and not for profit. Postmasters general, however, for political purposes continually make changes which decreases the receipts. For instance, newspapers were recently given first-class treatment which would increase the cost of handling that class of mail. It can readily be understood why this was done, especially in the face of the presidential campaign. While labor enters no protest to this change still it insists that it should not be paid out of the pockets of the postal employes. Changes made in the parcel post rates by postmasters general also have added to the cost of the mail service. Under the law the postmaster general with the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission can change parcel post rates. Postmaster General Burleson made five changes during his term of office. It is claimed by the postal employes that if no changes had been made in the parcel post rates, the benefits of which are mostly gained by mail order houses, there would be a surplus of many millions of dollars instead of a small deficit as in the past year.

Postal employes should not be required to work for less wages than would support them and their dependents comfortably in order that mail order houses, newspapers and other influential industries may profit. There is no doubt that congress would have passed the postal wage bill over the veto of the president.

Two most important acts of congress were the passage of the immigration bill and the proposed amendment to the constitution of the United States for the protection of children.

The Howell-Barkley bill is on the calendar and will be taken up at the next session. While under consideration in the House, Representative Barkley, who introduced it, bitterly denounced those who were throwing obstacles in the way of its passage.

Labor has no fault to find with the rank and file of congress. It was the leaders of congress and the administration that continually hampered the struggle for remedial legislation. The farmers were dealt a deadly blow by these same influences. It is hoped that every member of congress who fought for remedial legislation will be returned to the next congress and in addition a sufficient number that will indeed make congress truly representative of the American people.

Immigration

After most strenuous opposition of the executive department of our government and the government of Japan and certain nations of Europe, the immigration bill, which will bring great relief to the people of our country, became a law. It provides that only 2 per cent of any nationality based on the number of foreign born residents of that nationality in this country in 1890 shall be admitted as immigrants. Aliens ineligible to citizenship are prohibited from entering the country. A non-quota class is provided for which will permit the wives of foreign born citizens and their unmarried children under eighteen years of age to come into the country outside of the 2 per cent quota.

The sentiment in favor of limiting immigration was so pronounced that it can be safely stated that members of congress have awakened to the dangers of too much

immigration. Labor would like to have immigration completely restricted for a term of years. But at this time it was found impossible to secure such a law owing to the great opposition of many unfair employers' associations.

While the new immigration law is not all that is desired by labor it was approved for the reasons given. The necessity for such legislation is becoming more evident every day. The official reports of the Employment Service of the Department of Labor show that unemployment is increasing in all parts of the country. The immigration bill passed the house by a vote of 323 to 71 and the senate 62 to 8. It was feared that the president would veto the bill, but it was clearly established that if he had done so it would have been passed over the veto. Members of congress say this explains the failure to veto the bill.

Child Labor

Not only labor but all outstanding citizens of the United States can be congratulated on the passage of the proposed amendment to the constitution providing for the protection of children. It is not necessary that the president shall sign the joint resolution. It now goes to the various states for ratification. The proposed amendment is as follows:

SECTION 1. The congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

SEC. 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the congress.

The resolution passed the house by a vote of 297 to 69 and the senate by 61 to 23. Success for the proposed amendment can be credited to the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor, of which President Gompers is chairman. Immediately after the last child labor law was declared unconstitutional President Gompers called into conference representatives of seventeen organizations of women and men to agree upon the form of an amendment. This was introduced in the senate by Senator McCormick and in the house by Representative Foster. The judiciary committees of both houses reported the bill favorably in the sixty-

seventh congress but too late to be acted upon before adjournment. On the opening of the sixty-eighth congress the bills were reintroduced in a different form, approved by the committees, reported to both houses and passed. The future of the United States is wrapped up in the success of the child labor amendment owing to the fact that there are states that have been backward in protecting child life. The same opposition will be met in the states as labor met in the congress, but it is hoped that the evils of child labor will convince the states that the amendment must be ratified.

One of the objections to the proposed amendment is the provision that "congress shall have the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." A great play is being made upon the eighteen year provision. This is subterfuge of the trickiest character. Congress, if the amendment is ratified, is empowered to prohibit the labor of children under a certain age. It then has power to limit or regulate the labor of persons between the prohibitive age and eighteen years. But those who would defeat the measure in the interest of greedy employers try to make it appear that children under eighteen will not be permitted to work. The word "persons" was used in the amendment because authorities disagreed as to the meaning of the word "children."

Railroad Labor Bill

S. 2646, by Senator Howell of Nebraska, and H. R. 7358, by Representative Barkley of Kentucky, to abolish the railroad labor board and in its place set up a system of voluntary negotiation between the railroad managers and their employes in all crafts in the industry, was temporarily withdrawn. A commission of mediation and conciliation representing the government and provisions for voluntary arbitration when agreements can not be reached by conferences or through the efforts of the government conciliators are provided for; also for boards of adjustment to take up the disputes that might arise. Hearings were held before a subcommittee of the senate committee on interstate commerce. This committee reported the bill favorably to the full committee, which approved of its findings and reported the bill to the senate.

In the meantime the committee on interstate commerce of the house refused to hold any hearings. A committee headed by President Gompers, on which were representatives of all railroad crafts, called upon Chairman Winslow and asked for hearings on the bill. They were curtly told that there would be no hearings. Applying the new rule that was adopted at the organization of the house, the representatives of railroad labor and of the American Federation of Labor secured sufficient signatures to take the bill out of the hands of the interstate commerce committee and on motion of Mr. Barkley congress voted for its immediate consideration. The speaker of the house ruled that this bill under the status it was brought into the house could only be considered on "suspension days."

Suspension days are the first and third Mondays of each month. The bill came up for consideration and the administration leaders, taking advantage of the rule, initiated a filibuster that precluded its consideration. The filibuster was continued on the next suspension day and no action followed. The third suspension day was on the Monday preceding the adjournment of congress. Many other measures of importance that could be considered on suspension day were blocked by the filibuster on the Barkley bill. Representative Barkley, assured that it was intended to continue the filibuster and thus kill the bill, temporarily withdrew it. The majority in the house had indicated a determination to pass the measure, but the leaders of the majority adopting the tactics of a minority, refused to permit the bill to receive adequate consideration or to come to a vote.

Corruption in Government

After congress opened in December and until adjournment there was hardly a day that some form of law violation was not uncovered by committees of congress. The Teapot Dome and other oil scandals, corruption in the Department of Justice, the payment of great sums of money to permit violators of the law to escape justice and the many charges brought to light against war profiteers were only a few of the many evidences unearthed of the deterioration of the government.

In the absence of Chairman Lenroot of

the Investigating Committee, Senator Ladd made a report on the oil scandals which Senator Walsh desired to have considered by the senate. Senator Spencer started a filibuster against consideration and was successful in preventing any action. The committees of investigation of all these various charges against government officials and others were appointed by the dominant party in congress and the majority of each committee were members of that party. Nevertheless the leaders prevented the report coming before the senate.

During an investigation of the Department of Justice and Attorney General Daugherty a "back fire" was started against Senator Wheeler in Montana where he was indicted on an alleged charge that he had received compensation for acting as attorney for a client before a government department. Senator Borah was appointed chairman of the committee to investigate the indictment and after many hearings made a report completely exonerating Senator Wheeler from the charges made in the indictment against him.

Recognition of Russia

Senator Borah submitted a resolution to the senate early in the session which provided for the recognition of the Russian government. Hearings were held and a great mass of evidence tending to show that it would be dangerous to recognize Russia were submitted by many witnesses and by the State Department. President Gompers was prepared to show that the soviet government of Russia was conducting a campaign in the United States to overthrow the government, and preliminary thereto the American Federation of Labor was to be destroyed. For some reason the hearings were postponed indefinitely. The evidence, however, was so conclusive that it is not believed that anyone will have the temerity to advocate the recognition of the soviet government of Russia.

Volstead Act

Fifty-seven bills were introduced in congress providing for the manufacture, transportation and sale of beer of 2.75 per cent alcoholic content. President Gompers appeared before the judiciary committee and urged the passage of such a measure. He contended that since the Volstead act

had gone into effect the country had become a whiskey drinking nation. If the citizens of our country were permitted to obtain wholesome beer of the alcoholic content mentioned, he declared, it would make us a nation of beer drinkers instead of whiskey drinkers. He contended that 2.75 per cent beer was non-intoxicating, non-injurious and would drive the bootleggers out of business. No action was taken on any of the bills.

Employers' Liability—Longshoremen.

Laws have been enacted by former congresses intended to bring the longshoremen in the ports of this country under the compensation laws of the states or under the amended employers' liability laws as they apply to railroad men engaged in interstate commerce and sailors on ships under United States registry. In each instance flaws were found in the laws and the courts decided that men unloading ships, who worked partly on shipboard and partly on shore, did not come under any of these laws. As a result longshoremen of this country are left practically unprotected either by compensation laws or liability laws in cases of injury in the course of their employment. The common law defenses—assumption of risk, contributory negligence, waiver of rights and fellow servant—still apply and one of those defenses can always be invoked to absolve the company from any financial responsibility. Congressman Peter F. Tague of Massachusetts, at the request of the longshoremen and the American Federation of Labor, introduced a bill (H. R. 9723) to amend the federal employers' liability laws so as to eliminate the common law defenses. Provisions are made in the bill by which the longshoremen individually or through their organization can enter into voluntary agreements with their employers that will provide the equivalent of workmen's compensation as in effect in other callings. Senator Pepper has prepared a similar measure to be introduced in the senate at the reconvening of congress.

Alaskan Fisheries Bill

A bill was introduced in the house by Representative White of Maine intended to justify by law the action of the bureau of fisheries of the Department of Commerce in giving exclusive fishing rights to certain

fish canners in waters proximate to the Alaskan Coast. In the committee it was pointed out by Delegate Sutherland of Alaska, by representatives of the fishermen's unions of the Pacific Coast, by representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the seamen's union that the result of the executive order issued by the bureau of fisheries of the Department of Commerce had driven native fishermen from their vocations and had placed the industry entirely in the hands of the canners who were exploiting the waters for their own profit. The bill was changed in committee by making it possible for the bureau of fisheries to issue orders calculated to conserve the Alaskan fisheries by shortening the seasons and defining the methods of taking fish, but the bureau was instructed to make all rules apply to all fishermen; that is, no certain companies to be permitted privileges on the fishing grounds above any other. In this form it was enacted by congress and has been signed by the president. The law will be beneficial to the real fishermen of Alaska. It was bitterly fought by the representatives of the canners.

Department of Education

The Sterling-Reed bill, providing for the creation of a department of education failed to receive favorable consideration by the committees of either house. It is understood that the opposition to a department of education comes from the administration, which has approved of a plan to create a department of "education and relief." It also is proposed to take from the Department of Labor the woman's and children's bureau. Labor has entered objections to the taking of these two bureaus from the Department of Labor.

Workmen's Compensation

The Fitzgerald workmen's compensation bill was reported to the house by the Committee on the District of Columbia and its passage recommended. It was found impossible, however, to secure a rule to admit of a vote upon it before the adjournment of congress. The insurance companies made a most strenuous campaign against the bill but it is believed the opposition will fail in defeating the measure. The Underhill bill, which that representative hoped to

substitute for the Fitzgerald bill, was written in the interest of insurance companies. The opposition was backed by political bosses who were connected with surety companies that were interested in workmen's compensation insurance. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor did everything within reason to have this bill passed and it is hoped that success will come in the next session of the sixty-eighth congress.

Conscription of Labor and Profits

H. J. Res. 128, by Representative McSwain of South Carolina was favorably reported to the house May 15. It is entitled "to promote peace and to equalize the burdens and to minify the profits of war." It proposes that a commission be appointed by the president of the United States to work out and enact into law "such provisions and policies to be pursued when the war shall come as shall empower the president immediately to mobilize all the resources of the country."

Sedition

Every session of congress some one introduces a bill which ostensibly is to punish those who have tried to overthrow the government but which in fact is intended for another purpose entirely. Just in the closing days of congress Representative McLeod of Michigan introduced a bill "to prohibit and punish certain seditious acts against the government of the United States and prohibit the use of the mails for the purpose of promoting such acts." It provides among other things that "it shall be unlawful to advise or advocate a change in the form of government or the constitution of the United States or resistance to the authority thereof by force or violence or by physical injury to persons or property." If a loyal American citizen advocates a change in the constitution of the United States and attempts to secure it by moral force he will be guilty of sedition if the bill becomes a law.

Lincoln Day

Bills were introduced in both the senate and house favoring the making of February 12, Lincoln Day, a legal holiday in honor of the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. The bill was reported favorably

in the house, but no action was taken upon it in the senate. The bill will be pressed in the next session.

Teachers' Salary Bill

H. R. 6721 by Representative Keller of Minnesota providing for an increase in wages for teachers in the District of Columbia became a law. Congress, however, failed to appropriate funds for the purpose. The teachers will also lose the \$20 a month which has heretofore been paid as a bonus. However, as there is sufficient money available it is understood that the increases will be granted. The deficiency bill also carried \$5,000 for the payment of annuities to school teachers. Whether the government will pay this under the same conditions as they do the bonus is a question.

Political Contributions

Several bills were introduced to prevent the donating of large sums of money to political parties or candidates. None of them succeeded in being passed by both houses, although several passed one house either as a rider or as a bill but were killed in the other.

Vocational Rehabilitation

The bill providing for the rehabilitation of persons injured in industry, agriculture and commerce passed congress and was signed by the president June 5, 1924. The law was extended to 1930. The sum of \$1,000,000 a year for the last three years was appropriated to be allotted to the states in the proportion which their population bears to the total population in the United States, not including the territories, outlying possessions and the District of Columbia. The allotment for each state shall not be less than \$5,000 for any fiscal year. For the years 1925, 1926 and 1927 the sum of \$34,000, or so much thereof as may be needed was appropriated for the purpose of providing the minimum allotment to the states.

Occupational Diseases

H. R. 7041, by Representative Vaile of Colorado, passed congress and was signed by the president, June 5. It is known as public No. 196. It provides that the workmen's compensation commission shall pay compensation to persons suffering from

occupational diseases. Comptroller General McCarl had decided that this could not be done. It was therefore necessary to pass the law.

Steel Railroad Cars

Senator Robertson's bill for the protection of persons employed on railroad baggage and express cars passed the senate May 22. It provides that all such cars shall be constructed of steel. This will come up for action in the house next winter.

Philippine Independence

H. R. 8556, by Representative Fairfield of Indiana, with amendments, was reported to the house May 10 and recommended for passage. Three bills pertaining to Philippine independence were introduced in the senate but no action was taken on them by the committee having them under consideration.

Porto Rico

Bills providing for civil government for Porto Rico failed of passage although hearings were held by the house committee on insular affairs. It is believed, however, that sentiment favors giving Porto Rico civil government and that in the next session such legislation will be enacted. Mr. Santiago Iglesias, president of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor and a member of the Porto Rican senate, appeared before

the committee and urged the passage of the civil government bill. President Gompers wrote a strong letter to the chairman of the committee urging a change in the organic law for Porto Rico which would give the people the power of electing a governor and to bring about such other conditions as would be beneficial to them. Representatives of the A. F. of L. also appeared before the committee in the interest of the bills.

Conclusion

Your legislative committee has found a more receptive feeling among the members of the sixty-eighth congress than for many years outside of the war period. Many of them have requested information from the A. F. of L. as to its stand on measures before congress. The non-partisan political campaign of 1922 elected many friends of labor and the people and defeated as many enemies of labor and the people. It is to be hoped that those members of the house and senate who have unflinchingly stood by labor and the people will be returned in the coming elections. The next congress should be better than this one and will be if the wage earners and all other loyal minded citizens will see to it that they vote only for those who will be true to the people.

W. C. ROBERTS,
E. F. McGRADY,
EDGAR WALLACE,
Legislative Committee,
American Federation of Labor.

Fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, General Council to the El Paso convention of the A. F. of L. are A. B. Swales, executive member, Amalgamated Engineering Union and a member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, and C. T. Cramp, Industrial General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. Fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress are Peter J. Brady, International Photo-Engravers Union, and Edward J. Gainor, President, National Association of Letter Carriers. The British Trades Union Congress meeting is to be held in the city of Hull in Yorkshire, beginning Monday, September 1, 1924. Fraternal delegates from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to the A. F. of L. Convention in El Paso have not been selected. The fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the annual meeting of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is Walter W. Britton, President of the International Metal Polishers' Union.

WHAT OUR ORGANIZERS ARE DOING

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC

FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS.

Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

W. O. Murphy.—We have 39 local unions and a total membership of 2,300. There have been five deaths with a total expenditure of \$5,000. The state of employment is fair and improving.

International Metal Engravers

B. H. Alstad.—We have 6 local unions with 140 membership. Work at the present time is slack.

National Federation of Federal Employees.

James P. McKeon.—We have 290 unions and 23,426 members. During the month we increased one local and 179 new members. State of employment remains stable. We are endeavoring to improve conditions through legislation now before congress. We are carrying on an organization drive for new members.

Laundry Workers' International Union

Harry L. Morrison.—We have 74 local unions with a total membership of 5,500. We have gained two locals and 44 members during the month. They were formed in Oakland, Calif., and Lethbridge, Alta., Canada. The state of employment remains fair. Our local union, No. 26, of San Francisco, Calif., has drafted a new union agreement to cover the next two years, requesting an increase of \$2 for each employee. Our local union in Oakland, Calif., which two years ago was disrupted and broken up by spies employed by a detective agency, has been reorganized by General President Brock and we have good prospects of having a better local union in Oakland than we ever had before.

United Wall Paper Crafts of North America

Edwin Gentsler.—We have 12 local unions with a total membership of 860. We had a decrease of one local caused by a merger with another local with no loss of membership. We had one death and an expenditure of \$300 therefor. We have approximately 200 unemployed. The lockout of 1921 is still in effect. During the previous month one of the shops that locked out our members was forced into bankruptcy. We are working under agreements, no change having been made in terms or conditions since the agreement went into effect August, 1923.

Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union

A. D. Yoder.—We have 249 local unions with a total membership of 8,000. Four locals have been reinstated during the month, namely, Sheffield, Ala.; Steubenville, Ohio; Washington, D. C., and Pitts-

burg, Kans. There have been five deaths with a total expenditure of \$1,200. The state of employment is good.

FROM DISTRICT, STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZERS.

ARIZONA

Lowell.—Phil J. L. Donahue:

Additional workers have been hired by the Calumet and Arizona mine, the Phelps Dodge corporation, and the Shattuck manufacturing company. Active work is being carried on to increase the demand for union labels and favorable results are being secured.

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach.—T. H. Norris:

All lines of business have laid off from 5 to 25 per cent of their employees. No plants of record have closed down, but numbers of business houses have gone into the hands of receivers. An alliance of bankers, newspapers, real estate pirates, and churches have successfully blocked our efforts to elect a trades unionist to the city council. Agitation and education is being carried on to promote the demand for union label goods.

Los Angeles.—George E. Bevan.

Work is slack here in all industries. Upholsterers' Local No. 15 signed an agreement for one year with the Sanarow Upholstering Company. This company locked out their employees March 21 and signed agreement May 21. They have a strictly union shop. A report from San Pedro states that steamship companies are starting the blue card system, or a dual organization, in opposition to the union. We have an active union label committee here. A campaign is being carried on to increase the number of local organizations.

Petaluma.—W. B. Addleman:

The lumber yards and mills have laid off some employees. Additional men have been hired in the building trades. Fourteen new houses and one clubhouse are being erected. We are striving to organize a union of poultry dressers now. Stores are carrying an additional line of union label goods, due to agitation by the union label league and a committee calling on merchants.

San Francisco.—John O. Walsh:

Soda water bottlers here received a 50 cent per day increase without going on strike. Elevator operators in the employ of the city also received a \$15 per month increase. The Board of Works in San Francisco has laid off 300 employees and the street repair department has also laid off workers. The building trades are the only progressive industry here. Ship owners, stevedores, and railroad crafts have "company unions." A few boosters



THE WORKING MAN'S AIDE
24c Green Stamps help
increase the income
The Sperry & Hutchinson Co., N. Y.

here are trying to organize a label league to increase the demand for union labels.

COLORADO

Denver.—Earl R. Hoage:

There have been a number of improvements here during the past month in wages, hours, and conditions of work. Bakers secured an increase of \$2 per week; window cleaners an increase of \$1 per day, making their scale \$6 per day now. Building laborers secured 50 cents a day increase and elevator constructors 18 cents per hour. Coal miners, after a week's strike prevented a wage cut of 15 per cent. Nine new paving districts have been created in Denver which will give work to a number of men. Denver is flooded with idle mechanics, due to the fact that several railroads have laid off shopmen. The new Blaney-Murphy Meat Packing plant has been completed, costing \$500,000. It was a union job throughout. The Switchmen's Union of North America just completed a very successful convention in Denver. The union label league is boosting all labels at meetings being held throughout the entire city. A local union of railway clerks has been organized. Two hundred miners at Broadhead joined local union No. 2060.

CONNECTICUT

Norwich.—William H. Donahue:

Painters went on strike here for \$1 per hour and settled after a week by arbitration for 90 cents per hour, an increase of 8 cents per hour. Nearly all textile plants and cigar factories have laid off workers. Work in the building trades is picking up. The textile industry has taken another slump, worse than any time previous, and is almost at a standstill. All shops in the cigar trade are closed. The writer has succeeded in getting delegates from the carpenters' and painters' unions to a meeting of the Central Labor Union and is most sure that they will affiliate.

FLORIDA

Orlando.—W. E. Crawford:

Constant agitation is carried on here to promote the demand for the union label. The musicians' union was organized during the past month.

ILLINOIS

Danville.—F. A. Leven:

About 300 workers have been laid off from the railroad shops. A lake is being constructed for the use of the water company. The railroad shops here have "company unions," but the miners and brickyard employes have union agreements. A label committee and the Women's Label League are active in promoting the demand for union label goods. The quarry workers have organized with 150 members.

Gillesville.—William Willard:

Mining is the principal industry here, but work is very scarce, and miners have been laid off from all mines.

Litchfield.—Henry D. Felix:

The American Radiator Company and the Litchfield Foundry and Machine Company have laid off about 550 employes altogether. Additional work has opened up in the building trades.

Murphysboro.—Thomas Murphy:

Conditions here remain about the same. The Federal labor union has accepted the same scale with improvements in their conditions. A committee has been appointed to increase the demand for union labels.

Taylorville.—Ivor C. McLain:

An increase of 3 cents an hour has been secured for women paper plate workers, members of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, from the Hopper Paper Company. This company has also laid off workers. The Peabody Coal Company has closed mine No. 9 for repairs, laying off about 400 workers. Considerable new work has opened up on street paving and road construction. With the organizing of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association considerable opposition has been experienced with the merchants. Several stores have signed up and recognized the union, but seven stores have formed an alliance and each has put up a \$500 bond to be forfeited by the one who signs up to recognize the union. To combat this situation we are having committees from the central body go before each organization, asking them to pass resolutions to place a fine on any member or their organization found guilty of purchasing any article from the stores that have not signed up.

INDIANA

Elkhart.—G. C. McLaughlin:

There is more business in the building trades at the present time, but no improvements in conditions. This is due to unemployment in other lines and there are now too many men for the jobs in the building trades. About 200 men have been laid off in the New York Central railroad shops. They have a "Shop Crafts Association" (scab union) and "factory welfare associations." No shops here have closed down, but are running on reduced time. Some road work has opened up. A corporation has formed to carry on a flat building campaign. It looks like a clever scheme to inveigle Elkhart capital into the "open shop" scheme. Houses and flats are being built on the "American plan," establishing a 10-hour day. The outlook is favorable for an organization of retail clerks.

Elkhart.—Lester L. Reed:

Wages are not uniform here in the building

trades, due to poor organization, but the 44-hour week prevails. Workers have been laid off from the New York Central railroad totaling 400; about 100 have been laid off from automobile plants, and 350 from band instrument plants. The only new work is that in the building trades. The New York Central Railroad has a "company union" here. Agitation has been carried on in behalf of the union label and the results have been very successful.

Elkhart.—I. O. Stephic:

Railroad shops are laying off all union men, and these shops are forming "company unions." Great success has been achieved in promoting the union label here. More goods are being sold bearing the label than ever before in Elkhart.

South Bend.—Harry Hendrickson:

The Oliver and Studebaker companies have laid off workers, practically all from the Oliver plant. The common laborers have taken out a new charter.

South Bend.—Harry Lewis:

Extensive alterations and new building are keeping the building trades active and provide the only employment for this and adjoining towns. The Studebaker automobile factory has completely closed down until the middle of July. Cigar stores here are requested to have union made cigars on display in their stores.

IOWA

Council Bluff.—William B. Daly:

Workers have been laid off by the railroads and in the building trades. Some public work has opened up. The Central Labor Union is agitating for the use of union label goods.

Des Moines.—W. B. Hammil:

Conditions here are not as good as a year ago this time, and prospects for the future do not look promising. The building trades are not doing the usual amount of work for this time of year. A few factories have hired additional men, but men have been laid off by the Ford Motor Company. Agitation is being carried on constantly to encourage the purchasing of union label goods. The Butcher Workmen's Union No. 187 increased their membership from a very few to 150 members upon being locked out and are now working. The Iowa Packing Company strike has been settled by arbitration.

KANSAS

Arkansas City.—Ed. E. Rock:

The refineries here have laid off a small proportion of their employes. They have no agreements with the union, but the railroads have "company unions." There are too many men here out of work. Men have been brought here expecting to work in the oil fields or refineries, and the town is overrun with men from other towns. The town is over advertised by the chamber of commerce.

KENTUCKY

Central City.—Otto Anderson:

Conditions are bad here. The miners have been on strike since April 15. The Illinois Central Railroad has laid off over 100 men, as has also the States Corporation. Some street work is being carried on, but no local men are employed. The work is given mostly to negroes from the south. The Illinois

"Save the surface and
you save all"—*Dutch Boy*



Weather-proof and worry-proof

Dutch Boy white-lead and red-lead keep the surfaces they cover safe from the attacks of rot and rust.

Dutch Boy red-lead puts around iron and steel a tough, elastic covering that air and moisture cannot pierce.

Dutch Boy white-lead can be mixed with pure linseed oil for exterior painting and with flating oil for interior painting. It makes a paint that saves wood and other non-metallic surfaces from rot and deterioration.

Both these Dutch Boy products are used by painters everywhere as standard protective paints.

NATIONAL LEAD COMPANY

New York, 111 Broadway; Boston, 131 State St.; Buffalo, 116 Oak St.; Chicago, 900 West 18th St.; Cincinnati, 659 Freeman Ave.; Cleveland, 820 West Superior Ave.; St. Louis, 722 Chestnut St.; San Francisco, 485 California St.; Pittsburgh, National Lead & Oil Co. of Pa., 316 Fourth Ave.; Philadelphia, John T. Lewis & Bros. Co., 437 Chestnut St.

Central Railroad carts have "company unions," and so have the employees of the Cumberland Telephone Company. The miners and carpenters constantly demand union label goods. The market seems to be pretty full of goods bearing the label. Agitation is being carried on to form a union of retail clerks.

MAINE

Bangor.—Joseph F. Carr:

There have been no improvements in conditions here. The Machine Foundry has laid off 23 workers. The Eastern Manufacturing Company has a "company union," but the foundries and cigar plants have union agreements.

Woodland.—Frank D. Johnson:

The St. Croix Paper Company signed a new agreement to May 1, 1925, with the same rate and conditions as last year. The Grand Lake Company has closed down and moved to Gillman, Va., throwing 250 employes out of work. The saw mill and box mill have opened up, hiring additional workers. The Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Maine State Federation of Labor will be held at Calais, Me., June 2 to 4.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston.—George J. Bowen:

There has been a general let up in all industry. A number of plants are working only four days a week.

INSIST on WAN-ETA Chocolate Bars and WAN-ETA Cocoa.*Made Under the Most Sanitary Conditions.***MASSACHUSETTS CHOCOLATE COMPANY
BOSTON, MASS.****MICHIGAN***Saginaw.*—W. H. Ferris:

Carpenters are now receiving \$1 per hour and an 8-hour day. The tailors are receiving 90 cents per hour and vest and pants makers 80 cents an hour for an 8-hour day. Painters and decorators also received an increase in wages. About eight of the best shops here have laid off large numbers of workers. Jacox Machine and Iron Works and the German Piano Company have closed down. The cigar-makers' organization dropped to 29 members because of poor patronage and the trade seems satisfied with out-of-town products.

MINNESOTA*St. Paul.*—Frank Fisher:

Conditions are very bad here. Labor elected two commissioners and comptroller in the recent city election in St. Paul and we are now in power in city affairs.

MISSISSIPPI*Columbus.*—J. R. Gray:

The chief industries here are lumbering, textile manufacturing and railroad machine shops. About 50 per cent of these industries have union agreements. The Columbus Lumber Company is hiring additional workers.

MISSOURI*Oskaloosa.*—Andy Apperson:

The mines here are working only part time. They have union agreements. We have a few fake "cooperative coal mines." We are requesting our local unions to adopt resolutions demanding the union label. The Doubleday coal mine has been reorganized with 180 men.

St. Louis.—Robert Lyons:

The Western Tablet Factory increased the hours of their employment and then laid off workers in some parts of their factory. About 700 workers were affected. Packing houses and railroad shops are the chief industries here and all of them have an "employer's union." The Western Tablet Factory threatened to discharge all or any employees who joined the union, which had just sent for a charter from the bookbinders. The writer organized a label league here in May and expects to do much to increase the demand for union label goods. During the past month the following organizations were formed: Tablet workers, cooks and helpers, and waiters and waitresses.

NEW YORK*Corning.*—C. E. Olinger:

New York Central railroad shops and glass works have laid off workers numbering 450 altogether.

A new box factory has opened up, and construction on state roads is being carried on. The painters received a 10 cent increase per hour in wages. A campaign is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods by the central labor union.

Plattsburg.—Bentley S. Morrill:

Normal conditions prevail here.

Syracuse.—H. H. Woodward:

Conditions have improved in the building trades and increases in wages from \$.05 to \$.12½ have been received in all branches. About 1,200 men in the Franklin Auto Plant are working only half-time. Bakers from four shops are on strike, about 30 bakers in all. Some new factories have opened up. We have had a special campaign to increase the demand for union labels and the merchants are reporting a big demand for the label goods. During the past month the teamsters and chauffeurs have organized.

NEVADA*Reno.*—Leonard Newstead:

Conditions are very bad here at present. The railroad shops at Sparks, three miles from here, are idle half of the time, and at least 200 men have been laid off. The lumber industry is working full force. Most of the camps are located across the line in Nevada, but help is being hired in Reno, Sacramento, and San Francisco. The mines are all working, but not with their full number of employees. The Portland Cement Plant at Gerlach, Nev., is working a full force and an additional mill has recently been completed.

NORTH CAROLINA*Charlotte.*—J. W. McDonald:

Brick masons organized last month and have over 100 members now. Wages are being increased and working conditions are good. Many new members have been added to the recently organized plumbers' and steamfitters' union. Electrical workers' union reorganized last month with a good membership. Agitation is being constantly carried on to increase the demand for union label goods and several merchants have added the label line and are advertising it.

NORTH DAKOTA*Grand Forks.*—Charles G. Johnson:

There is additional activity in the building trades, but with no change in wages. The railroad employees have "company unions" here.

Minot.—H. E. McFall:

The Great Northern Railroad has laid off workers. New work has opened up on the state highway and the briquetting plant has hired additional workers. Label propaganda is being distributed by

the boot and shoe workers and garment workers. Union members here demand to be shown label before purchasing. The president and secretary of the State Federation of Labor expect to visit here soon to encourage organizing.

OHIO

Dayton.—John E. Breidenbach:

The National Cash Register Company has laid off about 2,000 workers. Additional work has opened up in the building trades and the Maxwell Motor Company has hired additional workers. Auto mechanics have just formed a local union.

Findlay.—John F. Bunce:

There is a business depression here at the present time. From 10 to 75 workers have been laid off from five shops. Some shops are working only two-thirds time.

Hamilton.—Stanley Ogg:

There have been improvements in wages, hours, and conditions of work in all building trades. We are constantly agitating the use of union label goods through the central body.

Wellsville.—Frank Smurthwaite:

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company and Tin Plate Company have laid off workers. The pottery workers have union agreements here.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City.—Victor S. Purdy:

Painters here have received an increase in wages of 12½ cents per hour. The miners are all on strike. The writer has distributed 3,000 union label directories and pamphlets. Ten unions among zinc miners in the northeastern part of the state have been organized.

Tulsa.—Ben James:

There have been no improvements in conditions, but a decided decrease in employment in all trades for the past 60 days. The carpenters and plasterers are affected the most. All workers in the building trades have been replaced by non-union men. Several large buildings are under construction. Some of the building crafts have union agreements. The K. K. K. seems to be the dependence of the so-called "American plan." The Women's Label League are active in promoting the demand for union labels.

OREGON

Pendleton.—Alex Manning:

Some of the stores here have laid off a number of employes. About 40 per cent of the wheat and fruit crop has been destroyed by frost.

PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown.—Dan M. Gayton:

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation has laid off about 1,000 workers. They have a "company union," as has also the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. The shoe workers have a "protective association." The Mack Truck Company have hired additional workers and work in the building trades is plentiful. A new concrete bridge is being constructed. Honorable James Davis, Secretary of Labor, and Royal Meeker, State Secretary of Labor, addressed the State Federation of Labor

Convention recently held in Allentown, and predicted that there would soon be unemployment. We have been carrying on a union label campaign to increase the demand for union labels. During the past month a union has been organized of structural iron workers at Allentown and one of sheet metal workers at Reading, Pa.

Altoona.—John F. Weller:

Conditions show a general improvement in the building trades, but there are many unemployed in other trades. Painters, decorators, and paper-hangers are demanding and offering a scale for \$1 per hour, and 8-hour day, time and a half for over-time and double time for holidays. The bakery and confectionery workers are having their contracts signed up and are putting on a campaign for the union label. This contest will be from June 16 to July 26, inclusive. A cash prize is offered for the greatest return. The carpenters and joiners, plumbers and steamfitters, plasterers and bricklayers have increased in membership and are about 100 per cent organized. A strike still exists on the Pennsylvania Railroad of the carmen, blacksmiths, boilermakers, machinists, sheet metal workers and electricians and they are confident of victory. The railroad shops are the chief industry in Altoona and they have a "company union." The typographical union is organized 100 per cent and the garment workers are well organized. With a strong effort a local of chauffeurs and truck drivers and one of automobile mechanics can be organized. A local of laundry workers is also being contemplated. Street paving and road work have been created in the city and work will soon start. The city pays laborers 45 cents per hour. Conditions in the mining districts are very bad, as the mines are working only two days a week.

Agitation and education is carried on by the Central Labor Union to induce the merchants to carry union label goods. All union men and women are persuaded to patronize them and because of that union label goods are displayed in show windows. The Women's Label League, auxiliary to the central council, is doing splendid work to promote the demand for union label goods.

Wilkes-Barre.—William H. Kromelbein:

All building trades here have received a substantial increase in wages. The Lehigh Valley shops have laid off 100 employes. An increase demand is shown for the union label, shop card, and buttons. A renewed effort is being made to organize the textile workers in this locality.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Mitchell.—A. J. Church:

The printers here have reorganized and are doing fine. They have joined the central body, which is now composed of barbers, painters, musicians, maintenance of way, and theater workers. Three more organizations have promised to join. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union labels. Agriculture is the chief industry here, although we have a division of a railroad here, the employes of which have union agreements.

TENNESSEE

Jackson.—W. L. Diffee:

The Piggly-Wiggly Manufacturing Company,

after being practically shut down since last June, has hired additional men. The Southern Engine and Boiler Works laid off 50 men last week. An increased demand is being made for union label goods in this locality.

Kingsport.—L. D. Fletcher:

There has been no change here in hours or wages, but improvements have been made in working conditions. More buildings are being constructed than have been constructed in years. We always call for goods bearing the union label.

TEXAS

Houston.—R. L. Johnson:

All of the cotton seed oil mills here have closed. Many new buildings are being constructed, providing plenty of work in the building trades. Union label goods are always in demand here. The writer is now organizing the compress workers.

Orange.—E. L. Spaugh:

Oil companies here have hired additional workers. A new United States post office building is under construction. A local committee is carrying on work to increase the demand for union made goods.

San Antonio.—C. F. Russi:

General building contractors have laid off workers. A few bottling concerns here have union agreements, but two railroad shop employees have "company unions." Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods. A bloom and whist makers' union has been organized during the past week.

WASHINGTON

Kelso.—Frank Keckler:

Building trades have reduced their forces about 20 per cent. Additional work has opened up on the railroads, and a new logging camp is under way. The teamsters and chauffeurs have organized a local union, No. 605, during the past month.

WEST VIRGINIA

Wellsburg.—Clyde McCoy:

All mines have closed with the exception of one, which is operating part time. The Wheeling Steel Corporation has laid off about 300 workers and the Eagle Manufacturing Company is working only part time. Two new banks are under construction and work in the building trades is very plentiful. We are agitating for the increased use of union labels and the merchants carry a full line of union made shoes, overalls, shirts, socks, and ties.

WISCONSIN

Ashland.—J. M. O'Brien:

Work is scarce here. Lumber camps have laid off workers and repairing of docks has been discontinued. A new blast furnace has opened up. Iron ore workers have union agreements here, but the railroad shopmen have "company unions." Some agitation is carried on to increase the demand for union labels.

WYOMING

Acme.—C. F. Benedict:

Railroading and mining are the chief industries here. The miners have union agreements, but the railroad shop crafts have not. The Central Labor Union has carried on a campaign to increase the demand for union labels. The following unions have organized during the past month: Culinary workers, teamsters, chauffeurs, stablemen, and helpers.

Rock Springs.—Martin J. Sturman:

The mines have laid off one-third of their workers in the surrounding coal camps, and one coal mine has completely closed down. The Union Pacific Railroad shopmen have a "company union" here. The electrical workers organized a local union.

CANADA

Ontario

Kitchner.—Frank Wieck:

The Consolidated Rubber Company has reopened, hiring 700 men and women. A small amount of work is being carried on in the building trades.

British Columbia

Vancouver.—Percy R. Bengough:

Carpenters received an increase of 50 cents per day, making their wages \$7 for 8 hours. The Canadian Pacific Railroad has laid off more workers. Some of the lumber camps have entirely closed down. The union label committee is still active in increasing the demand for union labels and good work is being accomplished.

DEPENDABLE PENNSYLVANIA PRODUCTS

Made by

PENN AMERICAN REFINING COMPANY

REFINERIES: Rouseville and Oil City, Pennsylvania
Office: OIL CITY, PA.

PHILADELPHIA!

Famed throughout the land for its ships, ice cream, locomotives, carpets, textiles, chemicals—Philadelphia is called the Workshop of the World.

And as the welfare of the community is inseparably linked with the progress of its manufactures, so is the Central Station one of the mightiest factors in production.

Reliable, efficient and economical source of power—that is the ideal of Philadelphia Electric Service.

THE PHILADELPHIA ELECTRIC COMPANY

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Warning to Advertisers!

Protect yourself from being defrauded. Read the following Report of the Executive Council and action of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Scranton, Pa., on December 14, 1901, in reference to DECEPTIVE PUBLICATIONS:



A NUMBER of souvenir books have been published in which the name of the American Federation of Labor has been used without authority or sanction of any kind from either the American Federation of Labor or its officers. The good name of our movement is thereby impaired, the interests of our fellow-workers injured, and fair-minded business men imposed upon and deceived. During the year we have endeavored to impress upon all that the only publication in which advertisements are received is our official monthly magazine, the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST; and we have also endeavored to influence a more straightforward course by those who have transgressed in the direction indicated. In this particular we have not been as successful as we should be pleased to be enabled to report to you. However, we are more concerned with the future than the past; and in order to be helpful in eliminating this cause of grievous complaint, we make the following recommendations:

FIRST—That we shall insist that no body of organized labor, nor shall any person issue a souvenir book claiming that such book or any other publication is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

SECOND—That any city chosen by a convention of the American Federation of Labor to hold the convention following shall not directly or indirectly through its Central Labor Union or otherwise issue a souvenir book claiming that such book is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

THIRD—That in the event of any such souvenir book being projected or about to be issued, directly or indirectly, by the Central Labor body in the city in which the convention was selected to be held, in violation of the letter and spirit of these recommendations, the Executive Council may change the city in which the convention is to be held to the one which received the next highest number of votes for that honor.

FOURTH—That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prosecute any person or persons in the courts who shall in any way issue souvenir books, directories, or other publications in which the name of the American Federation of Labor is used as publisher, owner or beneficiary.

FIFTH—That it be again emphasized that the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, and is the only publication in which advertisements are received.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, A. F. OF L.

Report of Committee to Convention on the Above Report.

Perhaps there has been no more prolific source of dishonesty perpetrated in the name of organized labor than that involved in the publication of souvenir books. Unscrupulous projectors have victimized merchants and other friends of the movement in a most shameful fashion, and your committee heartily agrees with the strictures of the Executive Council upon the subject. We emphatically agree with the suggestions offered as a remedy and recommend their adoption. As an additional means to this end we would recommend that there be published in a conspicuous place in each issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST a notice to the effect that *the American Federation of Labor is not sponsor nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.*

Adopted by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, December 14, 1901.



SINCLAIR OILS

SINCLAIR REFINING COMPANY

CHICAGO NEW YORK



WALK-OVER SHOES

for Men and Women

*Walk-Over Stores or Agencies
Everywhere*

Geo. E. Keith Company

Campello (Brockton), Mass.



If you're a friend
of Labor
you're a friend of the

DURHAM - DUPLEX

The He-Man's Razor with the He-Man Blades

DURHAM DUPLEX RAZOR CO., Jersey City, N. J.

Armstrong Cork Company



General Office

Pittsburgh :: :: Pa.

MEN WHO ARE FORGING AHEAD

need to concentrate and must free their minds
from all unnecessary anxiety. Investment
worries may be avoided by purchasing

**TREASURY SAVINGS
CERTIFICATES**

ALLEGHENY STEEL CO.
Oliver Building PITTSBURGH, PA.



Empire Petroleum Products

GASOLINE
NAPHTHA

KEROSENE

GAS OIL

FUEL OIL

ROAD OIL

ABSORPTION OIL
NEUTRAL OILS

RED OIL

CYLINDER STOCKS

PARAFFIN OILS

PARAFFIN WAX

EMPIRE

Write for Prices

EMPIRE REFINERIES, Inc.

SUBSIDIARY CITIES SERVICE COMPANY

GENERAL SALES OFFICE — TULSA, OKLA.

The New "Sun" Engine!

Arrangements have been made with Wm. Doxford & Sons, Ltd., Sunderland, England, for the development, plans and patents they have covering Doxford engines. The Doxford plans and patents together with the Junker patents will be used by the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company for the manufacture of Doxford engines in America.

Motorships "Yngaren" and "Dominion" with Doxford engines are giving very finest results in durability, continuous running, and remarkable fuel economy.

SUN SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK CO.

Chester, Penna.

New York Office
Philadelphia Office

25 Broadway
Finance Building

1843 EIGHTY-ONE YEARS OF HONORABLE SERVICE 1924

DIAMOND EDGE

TOOLS and CUTLERY
SUPREME



ALWAYS the BEST
Quality is Unequalled
The Mechanic's Choice

SHAPLEIGH HARDWARE CO.



INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTORS

Established 1843

TRADE MARK REG.
IN U.S. PAT. OFFICE

ST. LOUIS, U. S. A.



TRADE MARK REG.
IN U.S. PAT. OFFICE

"DIAMOND EDGE IS A QUALITY PLEDGE"

THE ATLANTIC REFINING CO. Petroleum Products

Made in America by American Labor
and known all over the world.



Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

Brunswick



YORK SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY

Safes and Vaults

FACTORY

- - - -

YORK, PA.

Spirella
CORSETS

"The World's Best Corset"—
For Health, Comfort and Style

Hegeman-Harris Company

INCORPORATED

BUILDERS

360 Madison Ave.

New York, N. Y.

Telephone Murray Hill 5362

The Only Safe Water
is a Sterilized Water

Every drop of water used by over
80 million people in North America
is sterilized by Liquid Chlorine



WALLACE & TIERNAN

COMPANY, INCORPORATED
Manufacturers of Chlorine Control Apparatus

NEWARK

NEW JERSEY



ARMSTRONG STOCKS AND DIES



HINGED PIPE VISES

PIPE CUTTERS

PIPE MACHINES

STEAM AND GAS FITTERS TOOLS

MANUFACTURED BY

THE ARMSTRONG M'F'G CO.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

Sweet-Orr & Co., Inc.

Manufacturers of Union-Made

OVERALLS, TROUSERS

and **WORK SHIRTS**

15 Union Square, New York City

CENTRAL AGUIRRE SUGAR COMPANY

AGUIRRE, PORTO RICO

PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY

Glass--Mirrors--Paints--Brushes

Warehouses in All Principal Cities

General Office
260 S. Broad St., Philadelphia

J. H. WEAVER & CO. COAL

Branch Office
25 Broadway, New York

BITUMINOUS

GAS

For Steamships and High-Efficiency Steam Requirements
EXTRA PREPARATION OVER PICKING TABLES

SHIPPING PIERS:
New York—Philadelphia—Baltimore

EXCELLENT QUALITY
FAIRMONT DISTRICT

THE AUSTIN COMPANY *Industrial Engineers and Builders* OFFICES ALL PRINCIPAL CITIES

Sant-Flat
Mooramel
Cement Coating
Impervo Surfacers
White Enamel Underbody

Benjamin Moore & Co.

Paints, Varnishes and Muresco

NEW YORK
CHICAGO
CLEVELAND



ST. LOUIS
CARTERET
TORONTO

Muresco
House Paint
Pure Oil Colors
Japans and Driers
Impervo Varnishes

THE J. G. WHITE ENGINEERING CORPORATION ENGINEERS—CONSTRUCTORS

43 EXCHANGE PLACE - - NEW YORK

"It is far more economical to pay a few cents more for a good lubricant, than to accept an inferior one as a gift." Do you believe it?

KEYSTONE LUBRICATING COMPANY *Manufacturers and Lubricating Engineers*

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

EST. 1884

Peabody Coal Company

CHICAGO

Founded 1883

Operating

Forty-four Mines in Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Wyoming, with annual capacity of 26,000,000 tons.

McClellan & Junkersfeld

Incorporated

Engineering and Construction

Power Developments — Industrial Plants—Examinations—
Reports—Management

68 Trinity Place, NEW YORK

CHICAGO

PHILADELPHIA

ST. LOUIS

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

American Federation of Labor

A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

American Federationist

Monthly Magazine of the A. F. of L. 10 cents a copy;
\$1.00 a year

A. F. of L. Weekly Newsletter

Official Proceedings of the A. F. of L. Conventions
25 cents a copy

Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor
Per copy, 5c; 100, \$3.00.

Industrial Unionism in Its Relation to Trade Unionism
By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

National Association of Manufacturers Exposed; Revelations of Senate Lobby Investigation
By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

Initiative, Referendum and Recall
By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

The American Labor Movement; Its Makeup, Achievements and Aspirations
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. 5 cents per copy; 100, \$3.00

Trade Unions To Be Smashed Again
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Socialist Methods Versus Trade Union Methods
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Labor and Its Attitude Toward Trusts
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Essence of Labor's Contention on the Injunction Abuse
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Eight Hours—The Workers and the Eight-Hour Workday and the Shorter Workday—Its Philosophy
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5c; 100, \$3.00.

The Eight-Hour Workday; Its Inauguration, Enforcement and Influences
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

What Does Labor Want?
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Organized Labor; Its Struggles, Its Enemies and Fool Friends
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

No Compulsory Arbitration
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Open Shop Editorials
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Report of A. F. of L. Delegate, Budapest, Hungary, International Trades Convention, August 10-12, 1911
By JAMES DUNCAN

Report of A. F. of L. Delegate, International Federation of Trade Unions, Zurich, Switzerland, September 16-18, 1913
By G. W. PERKINS

Justice Wright's Denial of Free Speech and Free Press
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Dissenting Opinion by Mr. Chief Justice Shepard in the Contempt Case of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison vs. Buck's Store and Range Company

History of Trade Unions
By WM. TRANT, M. A.; with a sketch of the National and International Unions of America. By P. J. McGUIRE. Per copy, 10 cents; dozen, 75 cents; 100, \$5.00

Philosophy of Trade Unions
By DYER D. LUM. Per copy, 10 cents; dozen, \$1.00; 100, \$9.00

The Eight-Hour Primer

The Fact, Theory, and the Argument. By GEORGE E. MCNEILL. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight-Hour Movement

By GEORGE GUNTON. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

The Philosophy of the Eight-Hour Movement

By LEMUEL DANNYD. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Has the Non-Unionist a Moral Right to Work How, When and Where He Pleases?

By FRANK K. FOSTER. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Trade Union Epigrams

Some Reasons for the Faith That is Within Us. By WALTER MACARTHUR. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

The Philosophy of the Labor Movement

By GEORGE E. MCNEILL. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen 50 cents, 100, \$4.00

What Labor Could Do

By JOHN SWINTON; with "Economic Conferences" by WILLIAM SALTER, and a letter of HON. AMOS J. CUMMINGS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100 \$4.00

The Safety of the Future Lies in Organized Labor

By HENRY D. LLOYD. (In English or German.) Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Industrial Education

Consisting of an Investigation and Report by a Competent Special Committee; Reports of Officers and Committees; Action of A. F. of L. Convention; The Attitude of Organized Labor and Others Toward the Problem; A Glossary of Definitions, etc.; Labor's Bill for Congressional Enactment. Per copy, 25 cents; dozen, \$2.00; 100, \$15.00

Universal Education

By SENATOR HENRY W. BLAIR. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Why We Unite

Per copy, 2 cents; dozen, 20 cents; 100, \$1.50

The Union Label; Its History and Aims

Prize Essays, by WALTER MACARTHUR, P. H. SHULVIN and CHAS. D. HEMMING. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$3.00

Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion

Published December, 1901, by the American Federation of Labor, being a comprehensive review of the whole question. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

An Open Letter to Ministers of the Gospel

Issued by the American Federation of Labor. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Tuberculosis Movement Inaugurated and Plan Adopted by the A. F. of L. to War on Consumption

Statement and Evidence in Support of Petition and Charges Presented to the President of the United States Against the U. S. Steel Corporation by the A. F. of L.

Buck's Store and Range Company Injunction Suit and Contempt Proceedings

A compilation of the Reports of the Executive Council and President Gompers to the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, November 8-20, 1909, together with the Report of the Committee on President's Report, and Vice-President Mitchell's Address, etc. Per copy, 25 cents; dozen, \$2.00; 100, \$15.00

Books and other publications on Labor and Sociological subjects furnished at publishers' rates.

Quality Lubricants Since 1853

SWAN & FINCH OIL CORPORATION

522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Keystone Roofing Manufacturing Company

Asphalt Roofings - Shingles - Waterproof Products
York, Pennsylvania

PEJEPSCOT PAPER COMPANY

MANUFACTURERS OF PULP,
PAPER AND LUMBER

PEJEPSCOT MILL
BOWDOIN MILL
LISBON FALLS MILL
TOPSHAM MILL
GREAT SALMON RIVER MILL
MARTINS HEAD MILL
COOKSHIRE MILL
SAWYERVILLE MILL

OFFICES: BRUNSWICK, MAINE
42 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY

The FIRST NATIONAL



Trademark

stands for the
ultimate in
artistic and
entertaining
pictures. 

UNITED STATES SMELTING Refining and Mining Company

Executive Offices: 55 Congress Street, BOSTON
Sales Office: 120 Broadway, NEW YORK

BUYERS OF Gold, Silver, Lead, Lead and Zinc Con-
centrating Ores, Matte and Furnace Products
PRODUCERS AND SELLERS OF Gold, Silver, Copper,
Lead, Zinc, Arsenic, Cadmium, Copper Car-
bonate and Sodium Arsenite
REFINERS OF Lead Bullion.

OPERATING OFFICES: Salt Lake City, Utah; Kennett,
Cal.; Goldroad, Ariz.; Baxter Springs, Kan.;
Eureka, Colo., and Pachuca, Mexico.

TEXAS GULF SULPHUR COMPANY (Incorporated)

41 East 42d Street
NEW YORK

Bertha Coal

Produced By:
BERTHA-CONSUMERS
COMPANY

PITTSBURGH, PA.
Ten District Offices



Borden's
THE NATION'S MILK
A Milk Product to Meet Every Requirement



BYLLESBY ENGINEERING & MANAGEMENT CORPORATION



208 South La Salle Street
CHICAGO

NEW YORK
SAN DIEGO

BOSTON
TACOMA

EPOCH MAKING IMPROVEMENTS

THE interpole construction of electric motors now generally copied and approved by all electrical manufacturers was invented, developed and first manufactured by this company.

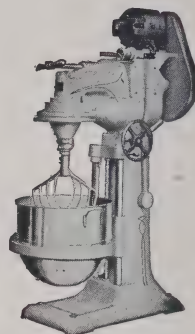
BALL BEARING electric motors were first developed and manufactured by this company. What other improvements in motor design during the past twenty years compare with these two achievements?

A. C. or D. C. Motors— $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1,000 H. P.

ELECTRO DYNAMIC COMPANY

BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

Sales Offices in principal cities



FOR

Bakery Equipment of Quality

CONSULT US

READ MACHINERY CO.

YORK, PA.

Manufacturers of

Complete Bakery Equipments

FRED W. SINCLAIR

ALBERT GRIGG

Sinclair & Grigg *Builders*

Medical Arts Building
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

United Piece Dye Works

*Dyers, Printers and Finishers
in the Piece of*

All Silk Fabrics, Silk and Cotton Mixed
Goods, Silk and Wool, All
Cotton Goods, Etc.

LODI, N. J.

New York Office: - 132 Madison Avenue
Mills: - - - - Lodi & Hawthorne

Wilkes-Barre Lace Mfg. Co.

WILKES-BARRE - PENNA.

Air Compressors, Condensers,
Turbo Blowers, Rock Drilling
Machinery, Oil Engines,
Pneumatic Tools.

Branch Offices and Service Stations
the World Over

Ingersoll-Rand Company

11 Broadway

New York

Rooms For Conference Meetings Without Charge

Absolutely Fireproof **Hotel Aberdeen** 17-19-21 W. 32nd Street

Between Broadway and Fifth Avenue, New York J. F. Downey, President

Special Headquarters for A. F. of L. Representatives. 300 Rooms with private bath \$2.50 and \$3.00 per day.

THE FOUNDATION COMPANY
ENGINEERING CONSTRUCTION

An Organization of experienced men, equipped with modern plant, prepared to undertake engineering construction anywhere.

120 Liberty Street City of New York
Offices in Principal Cities

Huther Brothers Saw Mfg. Co., Inc.

Manufacturers of

Circular Saws, Patent Dado Heads, Inserted Tooth Milling Saws, with inserts of high speed steel; SEMHI Milling Saws, Patent Box Board Matchers, Lock Corner Cutters, Concave Saws, Saw Fitting Machinery, and all kinds of special grooving saws.

Rochester, - - - New York

**NEW ENGLAND
SPUN SILK
CORPORATION**



276 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Salt for All Purposes

INDEPENDENT SALT CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

**44 Whitehall Street
NEW YORK**

Telephone 8920-1-2-3-4 BOWLING GREEN

Gasoline
Measuring
Pumps and
Storage
Tanks



Industrial
Oil Storage
and
Handling
Equipment

**GILBERT & BARKER
MANUFACTURING CO.**
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Barber Steamship Lines
INCORPORATED

Steamship Owners, Agents and Brokers

New York—Australia and New Zealand
New York—China and Japan Ports
New York—South and East Africa
New York—French and other European Ports
New York—Uruguay and Argentine

Room 930

17 Battery Place - New York

Yours for a Clear Head.
BROMO-SELTZER
SOLD EVERYWHERE

Labor's Record Complete!

Every fact about the American labor movement, from the beginning to the present,
is ready for you in the official

History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book

GREATEST LABOR RECORD EVER PUBLISHED.

This book contains 520,000 words. It contains the complete record of Labor's official action on every issue that has arisen since the beginning of American Labor history. Every student should have it. No teacher is properly equipped without it. Every labor man and woman will find it a mine of information and a help in the handling of current questions.

Send Your Order Today.

THE PRICE: \$2 NET.

Every order will be filled promptly.

American Federation of Labor

Washington, D. C.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

Send all orders to the Secretary.

"I Began to Sleep Better and Eat Better"

"Through overwork and worry I was a nervous dyspeptic wreck. I tried at the time for additional life insurance, but was advised that I was not a good risk. I purchased a cake of Fleischmann's Yeast, determined to give it a trial at least. To my surprise and amazement it agreed with me, and in two weeks' time I began to sleep better and eat better. Today I can eat and relish food that a year ago I avoided in horror, and this spring I secured the much-prized insurance policy."

A letter from Mr. Charles E. Payne of Ogdensburg, N. Y.

Eat 2 to 3 cakes every day

FLEISCHMANN'S YEAST

At every grocer's.

The Fleischmann Company

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor
CHESTER M. WRIGHT, Assistant Editor
Official Magazine of the American Federation of Labor
1924

Executive Council, A. F. of L.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.	JACOB FISCHER, Sixth Vice-President.
JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.	MATTHEW WOLL, Seventh Vice-President.
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Second Vice-President.	MARTIN F. RYAN, Eighth Vice-President.
FRANK DUFFY, Third Vice-President.	DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.
WILLIAM GREEN, Fourth Vice-President.	FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.
T. A. RICKERT, Fifth Vice-President.	

Official monthly magazine, devoted to the interests and voicing the demands of the trade union movement.
Published by THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR at 9th St. and Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C.
Correspondents will please address SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor, Washington, D. C.

All communications relating to finances and subscriptions should be addressed to FRANK MORRISON, Secretary
Washington, D. C.

The publisher reserves the right to reject or revoke advertising contracts at any time.

The editor will not be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

The American Federation of Labor is not sponsor for nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Entered at Washington, D. C., post office as second-class matter. Accept for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized July 11, 1918.

Contents for August

The Future of Giant Power—Tyrant, Servant or Co-Ordinator.....	621
By SAMUEL GOMPERS	
An Injunction Case Without Parallel.....	629
By JOHN P. FREY	
The Church from the Standpoint of Labor.....	638
By EDGAR A. PERKINS	
The Trade Union Movement in Western Europe.....	644
By L. KRAUSE	
The International Leather Workers' Case.....	648
By JOHN P. LEAHY	
Cartoon—Found Wanting!.....	658

EDITORIALS:

By SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, American Federation of Labor:

Admonishing the Courts.....	659
The Lesson St. Paul Taught.....	661
And Out Jumped the Devil.....	663
The Drift to Centralization.....	665
The Passing of a Splendid Man.....	668

BOOK REVIEWS:

Workers' Education Year Book.....	669
The Signaller and His Work.....	669
The American Government.....	669
Cooperative Marketing.....	670
The Price of Coal.....	672
Year Book (1923) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	672
Representative Government and a Parliament of Industry; A Study of the German Federal Economic Council.....	672
The American Labor Year Book—1923-1924.....	672

Avenues of Information.....	675
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	676



The Tail Wags the Dog

THE MOTORIST buys gasoline at frequent intervals and pays cash for it, because the unit of purchase is small.

For this reason the price of gasoline is ever present in his mind.

But, in fairness, the price of gasoline should be considered in relation to other fixed charges incident to the operation of his automobile.

Petroleum Age, in its issue of February 1, 1924, states that "reliable figures obtained in the study of the operation cost of automobiles in oil field service between July, 1922, and July, 1923, shows that the average cost per mile for cars ranging in price from \$400.00 to \$1,400.00 each was 10c. During that period approximately 22c per gallon was paid for gasoline."

Computing the average mileage at 15 miles per gallon it is shown that out of a mileage cost of 10c gasoline represented less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ c. In other words, the $1\frac{1}{2}$ c wags the $8\frac{1}{2}$ c, and the $1\frac{1}{2}$ c covers the hazard of drilling and bringing the crude oil above ground—its transportation to the refinery—storage—refining—maintenance of the refineries—transporting of gasoline—bulk storage depots—delivery system, including tank wagons and service stations—cost of labor—and a fair and reasonable profit.

If the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) and others engaged in the petroleum industry had not expended millions in experiment and research, which has resulted in taking from crude petroleum scores of other products, the present low price of gasoline could not be maintained.

The Standard Oil Company (Indiana), because of its advanced work in refining petroleum, has been able to recover these other products without in any way affecting the quality of the gasoline.

In this way the operations of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) accrue to the advantage of the consumer in keeping the price of gasoline down to a point where the man of modest means can enjoy the pleasures of motoring without bearing a burdensome charge for fuel to propel his car.

Gasoline, in relation to the service it renders, is one of the cheapest commodities yet discovered.

Standard Oil Company

(Indiana)

910 So. Michigan Ave. -

Chicago, Ill.



Save as you earn

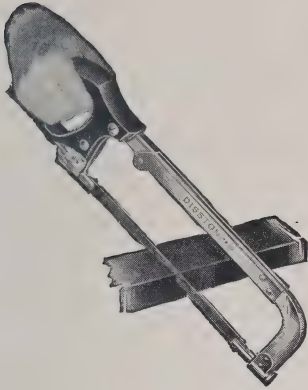
Systematic saving and investing! Few men succeed without it! Through our Easy Savings Plan you can purchase income-earning securities of established electric light, power and gas companies on payments of \$10 down and \$10 monthly per share, with liberal interest allowed on payments. These shares yield around 7%. Dividends are payable every three months; four extra pay checks every year!

7%

For particulars of our Easy Saving Plan and list of current offerings, call, phone or write

UTILITY SECURITIES COMPANY

72 West Adams Street, Chicago
Milwaukee Phone Randolph 6262 Louisville



A favorite frame for hack saws is the Disston No. 36 $\frac{1}{2}$, adjustable by half inches to take blades 8 to 12 inches. Frame nickel plated; handle black.

***Your Own work will PROVE
this fact, worth knowing***

DISSTON HACK SAWS STAY SHARP LONGER

The difference in hack saws is as great as the difference in hand saws. The next time you buy hack saws, say "DISSTON" to your dealer, and learn what the difference is!

Your own use will quickly prove to you that Disston Hack Saws cut faster, cut easier and stay sharp longer than blades that may *look* like Disston's but *lack* the Disston name.

You know what "Disston" means on your hand saw. Let "Disston" be your guide to better hack saws.

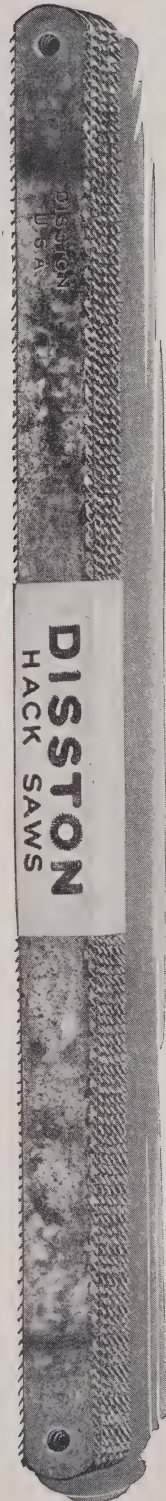
Write for the helpful "Disston Hack Saw Letter." It tells you how to choose and use hack saws for any kind of work.

Address Desk 3.

HENRY DISSTON & SONS, Inc.

Makers of "The Saw Most Carpenters Use"
Philadelphia, U. S. A.

DISSTON
SAWS TOOLS FILES



PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

PRODUCERS
REFINERS
DISTRIBUTORS
and MARKETERS

of

PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

featuring

PAN-AM GASOLINE
LUBRICATING OILS
FUEL OILS and GREASES

*since our organization handles
its products through every stage
of manufacture—from the well
to the consumer—users of its
various products are assured
of uniformly high quality and
continuous supply*

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK



Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, where powerful 1500-candlepower lamps, placed every 85 feet, have cut the number of crimes in two.

Light is the best policeman



No other public improvement pays for itself more quickly in added property values than good street lighting. The engineers of the General Electric Company have complete data and experience on this point; a letter to Schenectady, New York, will put the nearest office in immediate touch with you.

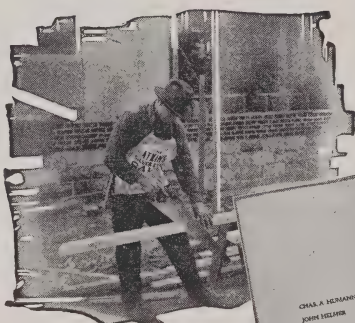
Many cities have proved it. Summing up the results of better lighting in Cleveland's downtown district, an authority says: "Crimes in this district in the year 1916 were but little more than one-half (59%) what we might well have expected had no change been made in the lighting."

Yet the cost of the best street lighting averages less than 9% of the total of a city's taxes.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

ATKINS

SILVER STEEL SAWS



READ WHAT JOHN HELMER
WRITES ABOUT THEM

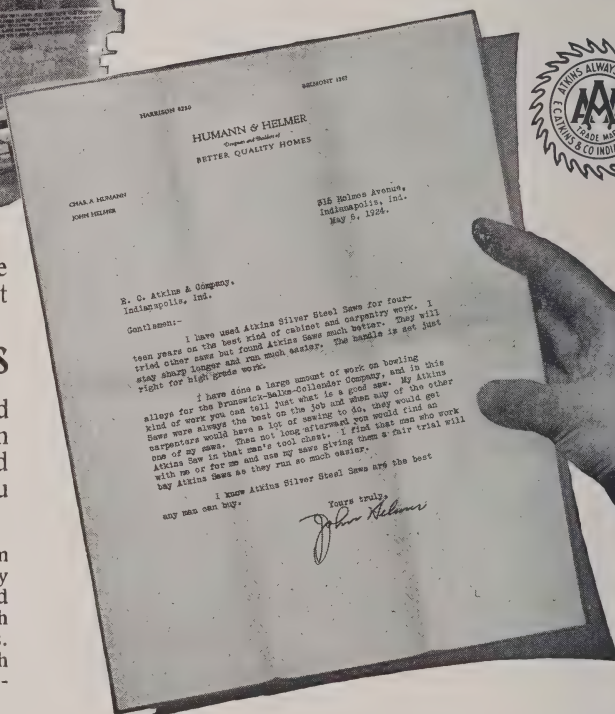
Carpenters throughout the
country are learning that

Atkins Silver Steel Saws

are all that the word
QUALITY implies, which
accounts for unsolicited
letters like the one you
see on this page.

Quality rarely results from
accident, but is achieved only
through understanding and
persistent efforts applied with
unwavering fidelity to details.
Those who appreciate such
quality use Atkins' Saws be-
cause they know they are

"The Finest On Earth"



Send 35 cents for carpenter nail apron,
pencil and Saw Sense Book.

E. C. ATKINS & COMPANY

"The Silver Steel Saw People"

Established 1857

HOME OFFICE AND FACTORY, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

CANADIAN FACTORY, Hamilton, Ont.

MACHINE KNIFE FACTORY, Lancaster, N. Y.

Atlanta, Ga. Memphis, Tenn. New Orleans, La.
Chicago, Ill. Minneapolis, Minn. New York City.

Portland, Ore. Seattle, Wash. Sidney, N. S. W.
San Francisco, Cal. Vancouver, B. C. Paris, France

Big Earnings From Many Sources

An investment in Cities Service Preferred stock provides a wide margin of safety and a return of over 8%.

The stronghold of Cities Service Company is its yearly sale of millions of dollars worth of electricity, natural and manufactured gas to an ever increasing population of millions of people in 19 states.

Cities Service Company also profits by large sales from its Oil Division, a complete unit in the petroleum industry, which supplies a variety of oil products to over 1700 cities and towns in the United States.

In each of the last thirteen years the earnings of the Company's public utility division alone have been more than sufficient to pay all dividend requirements on Cities Service Preferred stock. The large earnings derived from the Oil Division are simply added protection for Preferred stockholders.

Since the Preferred stock was issued, the average yearly earnings of the Company have amounted to more than three times Preferred dividend requirements.

*Send for Preferred stock circular P-103 and
booklet describing Cities Service Company*

Henry L. Doherty & Company

60 Wall Street, New York

BRANCH OFFICES IN

PRINCIPAL CITIES



Are You True To Yourself?

Study that question. Read it again. It's important to YOU! You believe in unions and union principles, don't you? And you work under union conditions—earn your wages as a unionist and help boost the cause.

DO YOU know that the UNION LABEL is one of the biggest things with unions? Just think what the label means! It is an indication that the goods bearing it have been made under conditions for which YOU stand. It shows that the makers of those goods are paying the union scale, and often more. It is an endorsement of YOUR union principles and benefits YOU.

Remember success for one helps for success of ALL unions! Co-operate with your brother workers in the clothing industry by demanding the union label on all your clothing, shirts, collars and cuffs.

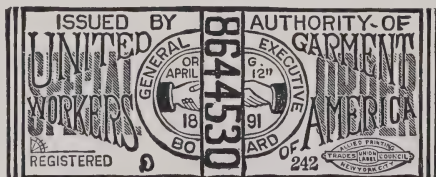
EVERY time you buy goods with the label, you strike a blow at unfair manufacturers, sweat-shops and prison workhouses. You help wipe out the products made by NON-UNION people—people who are working against YOU.

Think, talk, and push union labeled products. You owe it to yourself—for your own benefit! Make the union label as important as the price of an article. Get the habit and give it to your fellow-workers. Uplift the good cause and you uplift the welfare of yourself and your family.

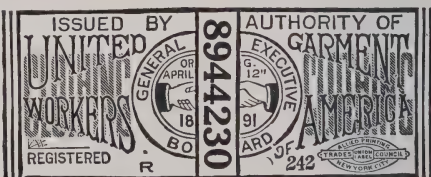
WATCH OUT FOR THESE UNION LABELS:



The above label is stamped on
Collars and Cuffs



The above label is placed on clothing
made to your order



The above label is placed on Ready-to-Wear
clothing, shirts, overalls and other
workingmen's clothing

UNITED GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

117 Bible House

New York



*An Enviably
Record of Satisfactory Results*

belongs to dyestuffs bearing the name American Dyewood Company. They are made in a full line of Natural and Artificial colors to meet every requirement.

AMERICAN DYEWOOD CO.

NEW YORK—PHILADELPHIA—BOSTON—HAMILTON ONT.
WORKS AT CHESTER, PA.

Snowdrift is *wholesome*

The fact that Snowdrift is made entirely of a pure vegetable oil means that it is as digestible as anything can be.

FOR MAKING
CAKE, BISCUIT AND PASTRY AND
FOR WHOLESOME FRYING

Botany Worsted Mills

Passaic, New Jersey

New York Offices:

200 Fifth Avenue, New York

*Why take
a Chance*

Protect Your Health
Consume the Quality
Products of the House

of
ANHEUSER-BUSCH
ST. LOUIS

Budweiser
Bevo
Grape Bouquet



A-B Ginger Ale
Car-Cho
Malt-Nutrine

Hotel Continental

"Centre of New York's Activities"

**Broadway at Forty-first St.
NEW YORK CITY**

Five Minutes from the Pennsylvania and
Grand Central Terminals; Within Easy
Access of the Retail Shopping Dis-
trict and Surrounded by
Forty Theatres

300 OUTSIDE ROOMS

Each With Private Bath

RATES:

Single: \$2.50 \$3.00 \$3.50 \$4.00
Double: \$4.50 \$5.00 \$6.00 \$7.00

COMFORT OF OUR GUESTS
Our First Consideration

P—A—X

Private Automatic Exchange

A Complete Automatic System of Interior
Communication, Combining Facilities for
Meeting, in a Business or Industrial
Organization, Every Intercom-
munication Need

This equipment is manufactured in the
same factories and to the same rigid speci-
fications as the equipment for public Auto-
matic Telephone Systems in use all over the
world. It is sturdy, compact and dependable
—built to meet the exacting demands of the
world's most prominent telephone engineers.

More than a private telephone exchange—
the Automatic Electric Services of the P-A-X
include and co-ordinate interior telephony,
code call, conference, watchman service and
all other intercommunication needs.

Automatic Electric Company
Engineers, Designers and Manufacturers of
the Automatic Telephone in use the world
over

Home Office and Factory, CHICAGO, U. S. A.

Fun Everywhere with a

Radiola

(REG. U. S. PAT. OFFICE)



This symbol of
quality is your
protection.

Fun—music—news—educa-
tion—all on the air. Listen
in with a Radiola. There are
Radiolas of many sizes—each
noted for power, long dis-
tance, and dependability—for
quality and simplicity. Be
sure to look for the **Radiola**
name on the receiving set
you buy.

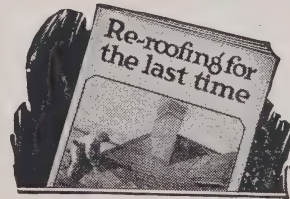
RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

SALES OFFICES: DEPT. 164

233 Broadway New York, N. Y.

10 So. La. Salle Street
Chicago, Ill.

433 California Street
San Francisco, Cal.



This book—one penny

Mail a penny post-card at once to Johns-
Manville, Inc., 292 Madison Avenue at
Forty-first Street, New York City, for this
booklet—"Re-roofing for the last time."

Even if you are not ready to re-roof
now, this book will give you some dollar-
saving information on the subject. And
if you are forced to re-roof now, don't
decide on the method or material until you
have read this booklet. It may save you
money.



JOHNS-MANVILLE, Inc.

292 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.

Branches in 62 Large Cities

DWIGHT P. ROBINSON & COMPANY

INCORPORATED
ENGINEERS AND CONSTRUCTORS
NEW YORK

CHICAGO

PHILADELPHIA

YOUNGSTOWN

LOS ANGELES

ATLANTA

MONTREAL

RIO DE JANEIRO



THEY'RE UNION MADE

GLOWN
CIGARETTES
20 for 15¢

In a factory that has employed union labor only, throughout its 23 years' history and never had a strike.

Axton-Fisher Tobacco Co., Inc.
Louisville, Kentucky

The Quality is there, too!

INTEGRITY GUARANTEED

THE F & D's facilities for serving Union Labor include Fidelity Bonds for Secretaries, Treasurers and other officials of National and State Federations.

These bonds guarantee an honest accounting of all funds handled by officials and make sure that the affairs of the various associations will be properly conducted.

Wherever there is a Local Union there is an F & D Representative ready to supply the bonds needed for the protection of its funds. Unusually prompt service on the part of all F & D Representatives in the execution of bonds and the payment of just claims is made possible by the location of branch offices or general agencies in most of the principal cities in the country.

FIDELITY AND DEPOSIT COMPANY OF MARYLAND

"The Bonding Company"

BALTIMORE

Fidelity and Surety Bonds and Burglary Insurance

*When in
Portland, Ore.
Make the*

Multnomah Hotel

Your Headquarters



Pain Stops Instantly

Here's instant relief from that burning corn! Blue-jay will stop the pain instantly. Then the corn loosens and comes out. Does away with dangerous paring. Get Blue-jay at your druggist.

© B & B 1924

Blue-jay

Buy

**U. S. Treasury
Savings
Certificates**

*Will your sleep tonight restore
the energy you have spent today*

The law of sleep admits of no exceptions. If sound and deep, it is man's best medicine. If light or troubled, it makes further drains on your strength and energy.

Yet thousands select their bedding without thought—and pay for their neglect in health and personal success.

Doubtless, *your* choice was more intelligently made. But the average man knows less about his spring and mattress than about any other necessity he uses.

Get acquainted with your bed tonight. Compare it with the Simmons springs and mattresses your dealer offers in various styles at the lowest prices good bedding can be built of *safe, new materials*.

Weigh the facts. Are you getting the kind of rest that rebuilds brain and body power? Is your bedding a help or a handicap?

S I M M O N S

Mattresses · Springs · Beds

BUILT FOR SLEEP



The Hind & Harrison Plush Co.

CLARK MILLS, N. Y.



CHICAGO SALESROOMS:
125 South Market St.

NEW YORK SALESROOM:
225 Fourth Avenue

USE

Breinig Brothers Pen-O-Stains and
Genuine Silex Paste Wood Fillers—

For Quality and Economy

BREINIG BROTHERS, INC.

HOBOKEN . . . NEW JERSEY

Manufacturers of

Varnishes == Enamels == Paints

YOU MUSTN'T GROW OLD

Nature never intended us to grow old. Keeping the arteries soft and pliant is a matter of intelligent food selection and rational exercise. Avoid hardening of the arteries and the self-poisoning that comes from undigested foods by eating

SHREDDED WHEAT

Made Only by

THE SHREDDED WHEAT CO.

Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Peabody Coal Company

CHICAGO

Founded 1883

Operating

Forty-four Mines in Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Wyoming, with annual capacity of 26,000,000 tons.

Chas. Cooper & Co.

Manufacturing Chemists

Established 1857

Acids

Ammonia

Bone Ash

Collodion

Chrome Oxide

Copper Carbonate

Ether Sulphuric

Sulphur Flour

194 Worth Street - NEW YORK
Works: Newark, N. J.

James Stewart & Company, Inc.

Building Construction

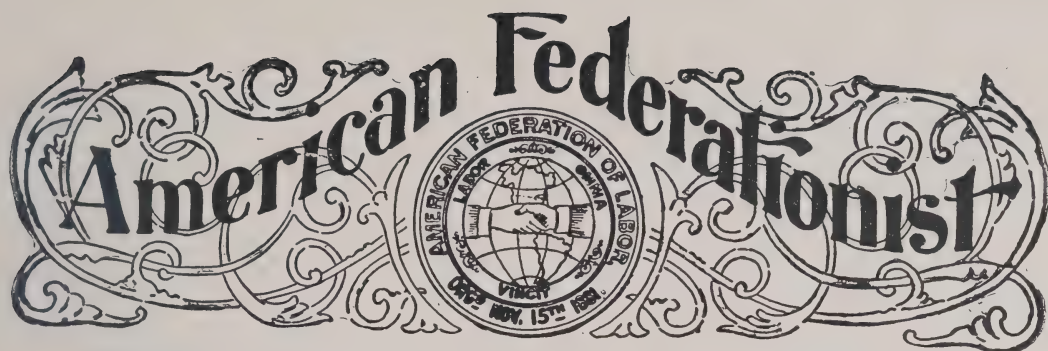
NEW YORK

CHICAGO

WASHINGTON

CLEVELAND

ST. LOUIS



DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS OF THE
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Vol. XXXI

AUGUST, 1924

No. 8

The Future of Giant Power

Tyrant-Servant or Coordinator

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

THE problem of relatively greatest importance before our nation is that of developing the most constructive policies for regulation of power production and distribution. Let us look about us to see why.

Our world is not standing still. Our institutions develop and decline as new information comes, new conditions develop and new needs are manifest. In the scientific world there has come a flood-tide of understanding that has brought a new physics, a new chemistry, a new basis for biology breaking down our distinctions between matter and energy. The philosophy of humanism has given us a unity of knowledge and has swept away the partition lines which formerly separated one compartment of knowledge from another thereby enabling us to see that there are higher levels of understanding beyond. Withal comes a deeper appreciation of the value of human life which gives a more purposeful interpretation to the problems of life and work. We look upon our material progress with a spirit akin to reverence for what has been done, and yet while we are still improving our railway transportation its rival and probable displacer is already finding the aerial highways. Even before the long-distance telephone is perfected, wireless communication rapidly develops. As the inherent restrictions of the electric street railway became urgent, the motor bus offers similar and improved service. Science has been preparing for the use of mankind clear fused quartz to replace glass, the derivations of cellulose, new metals, the mercury vapor boiler—all of which are of vital consequence to industry and to all connected with industry. They mean some new industrial move that controls

development, thereby affecting the interests of all engaged in the industries.

Of industrial changes now in the making none is more fundamental than that in the power industry. A revolution is there in the making that will transform industrial and social institutions and practices. Ability to control power is the index to man's progress. First man had only brute power, then he applied his intelligence to his problems and there began the series of methods of reinforcing his individual efforts by controlling the power of animals, other humans, and the various forms of mechanical power. The type of power used characterizes the age. A revolution in power means a revolution in work, in life, and in thought. Shall our public policies for regulating the power industry be planned in advance or shall we muddle through and later probably find ourselves compelled to take drastic measures?

A Revolution in Power

We know this change is now in the making. It is now possible to control the forms of its development. We can bring to these new problems fruition of decades of industrial and social experience. About a century ago there occurred another industrial revolution when mechanical power made factories possible and hand work began to decline. Industry had no charts to guide its progress. Society had no vision of the future. The workers then had no organized intelligence centers to enable them to take a part in shaping that gigantic development that swept away old customs and homes and created a new kind of society. Each worker had experiences that would help make the transition less wasteful, but there was no way of making that information a factor in controlling developments. Somehow we muddled through but we have not yet been able to remedy the grave social and industrial abuses developing out of that tremendous scientific advance. This experience ought to be grave warning to insure adequate planning for the approaching change.

In a recent address before the annual meeting of the National Electric Light Association, Governor Pinchot has vividly described the coming change thus: "The inventions which you are now applying have made it possible to reverse this process (concentration of society and industry). Instead of herding the workmen about the power plant you are bringing the power to the workman. You are beginning to do for power what the railroad did for goods—to bring standard quantities and qualities of it to every man's door at standard prices. This is a new thing in the world—the most significant thing that is happening in the production and distribution of goods. Ten years ago Steinmetz foretold the coming of nation-wide power service and pointed out its economic results. It has in it the possibility of a new economic revolution which will reverse many of the social tendencies of the age of steam. The nineteenth century saw the centralization of industry on a vast scale, a decline in country life, the decay of many small communities, the weakening of family ties. The age of electricity may bring about decentralization of industry, the restoration of country life and the strengthening of small communities and of the family. The disciplined and concentrated mass

action of workers which is necessary for power economy in a steam-driven mill is no longer a power necessity for workers served with electricity from a central station; on the contrary, it is a handicap. Diversity has replaced uniformity as the condition necessary for power economy. In this fact lies the possibility of new freedom and great spiritual enrichment of individual life."

Herbert Hoover recently said: "The test of our whole economic and social system is its capacity to cure its own abuses." We add yet another test: Its capacity to avert the development of abuses.

Within my own span of experience have come the changes that mark the substitution of the machine for hand work and the replacing of steam by electric power. At first each producing establishment generated its own power. Then came the central power station and the municipal utilities. With the perfecting of long-distance transmission came inter-connection and super-power systems, connecting long stretches of territory so that the system and not each individual plant was prepared to meet emergencies and peak demands. Thus we have a stretch of lines reaching from Canada to Mexico on the Pacific coast with only a few gaps of about 200 miles; the coal field super-power system in the Pittsburgh district through the coalition of nine power companies to effect economies; the Toronto Hydro-Electric Commission, etc.; the Colorado River dam project will supply the whole southwest section with power. These local developments constitute great highways of power that in time shall be linked in a transcontinental system.

Inter-connections will enable hydro-electric and steam power plants to supplement each other. Perfection of the technique of long-distance transmission makes the location of the power plant a variable factor and transportation economies favor location at the mines. With intercommunication power may be sent anywhere. Under giant power as now being developed in Pennsylvania, we find the planning looks to an integration of all power stations into one system with economies from large scale production and service, with power plants at the mines practicing by-product recoveries. Does not this portend an away-from-the-city movement? Is not this the answer to the life developing in our large cities which threatens all contacts with nature and makes of such cities as New York an artificial world?

Power is working revolutionary changes in agriculture as well as industry. Power tools do the back-breaking toil freeing the human worker to use his mind for the directing and other creative work. Farmers are now using electricity to grind feed and fill the silo, to thrash, to milk cows and other dairy work, for raising poultry, fruits and garden produce, for household work, for water pumps, heat and fuel and many other purposes. The changes forecast the future agricultural worker as a skilled mechanic. "There are sufficiently definite facts to enable engineers to estimate farm use of power from 100 to 300 kilowatt hours per month." (Morris L. Cooke before Senate Committee on Agriculture, April 28, 1924.)

In the factory, machine tools make possible large scale production which in its present stage of development is characterized by much repetitive work. So much of this repetition is so nearly mechanical that it is obvious

the process of machinization is not yet complete. Man is not a machine and when he is freed for his proper function—that of a thinking being—a distinct advance will be possible. American labor welcomes additional tools, but submits man's right to control machines and protests against the conditions that would make him a mere machine tender, in effect dominated by the machine.

Control the Main Issue

Management in the electric industry is keenly alive to the potentiality of interconnection in the power field. There will result a nationally organized industry rendering a service about which the whole future of social and industrial life will be constructed.

While there are a number of governmentally owned power plants the industry has been developed largely by individual initiative. But the very nature of the power industry as developed now makes necessary a large measure of public control. Standards of regulation to assure development of an undertaking so essentially public in its service functions must be developed no matter who owns the stocks and bonds or who selects the management of the plants. Power is rapidly in a most potential sense becoming the key industry whose dislocation would paralyze society.

We have now in theory at least, public regulation of an essential monopoly, developed through individual initiative and generally under private ownership. Are present principles of control adequate to secure the most constructive regulation of the key industry of the immediate future? The material and human consequences of the kind of regulation developed will be tremendous.

The discussion of the future of the power industry has so far centered about ownership. One group holds that government or public operation and ownership are the way by which to assure service to the public at low rates. This group believes that the hazards of precipitating this tremendous vital industrial enterprise into politics are counterbalanced by protection against private profiteering and non-social control usually implied under private initiative. The other group submits that sustained progress can be maintained only under private initiative and that this progress is fundamental to real service. But neither of these groups are focusing attention on the more fundamental problems of industrial organization and public regulation which, whatever the ownership, determine whether the power industry shall be a public servant or public master.

Whether regulation is to be our ultimate policy only experience can determine, but that is obviously and necessarily our immediate concern is plain from the fact that approximately thirty-five billions of dollars are now invested in power properties. Even if we should wish to change from private to public operation the shift of ownership could not be done over night, and in the meanwhile for a generation or two we must develop the technique of regulation and learn how to operate these properties efficiently. Whoever holds the titles the principles of efficient operation remain the same.

Within the industry we find groups differentiated by the type of function

performed—the financiers, the operators, the engineers, the accountants. These groups are all organized. The industry is organized. The organizations are the clearing centers for specialized information. They are voluntary organizations representing intelligent self-initiative. They are managed in accord with facts developed out of group experience. Each is an agency for accumulating specialized industrial experience. These groups have in their keeping the information necessary for the development and maintenance of the industry in conformity to highest standards, provided all factors have a full opportunity to submit matters to be considered in reaching decisions. Failure to include any group will bring unbalanced, hence wrong conclusions.

There is an internal regulation that must be developed all along the line from organized groups competent to make decisions upon matters in which their experience is the determining factor. This is the field of essentially voluntary action.

Unfortunately the power industry has made a mistake which prevents the industry from having the benefit of the experience of important and numerically large groups and a source of information. It has ignored both the wage earners within the industry and the consumers whom the industry serves, and the experiences of publicly owned and operated plants.

To overlook the power workers seems incredible blindness. Workers are essential to production. The organizations of wage earners competent to handle the problem can make available in this transition the information and experiences of those who know power problems as only those who handle power tools and are responsible for the details of power generation can know them. The trade union is a repository of the industrial experiences of its members. If the attitude of industry toward its workers is not intelligently mindful of the rights and the function of wage earners, the trade union is forced on the defensive. If industry assures provision for industrial justice to its workers in accord with standards of relations between contracting parties satisfactory to those concerned, then the workers through their union become an accepted organic part of the industry, responsible in part for continuous progress in which they share equitably. What course the trade union may follow depends primarily upon the attitude of the industry.

The National Electric Light Association has included among its standing committees one of Company Employees Organizations. This committee, quite as anaemic and circumscribed as its name would indicate, at the June convention of the industry asked to have its name and scope changed to Industrial Relations Committee. Perhaps this committee can show the association that it needs the cooperation of the power workers or the power workers may have to carry on that education by force. The natural organization of the workers corresponding to the trade organization of the industry, the engineering and technical societies, financial organization, etc., is the trade union. There must be voluntary organizations of those performing similar work for their mutual protection, development and advancement. It is as archaic for a company to deal with its employes as individuals as it is for the company to ignore our credit system and to use nothing but gold or sil-

ver. The union renders a big social service in addition to the protection it affords to its members. In addition it seeks the opportunity to render constructive industrial service. The union should, and if given the opportunity will, become responsible for the workers in the industry. By the maintenance of union standards, the labor union makes available for the industry competent workers, imbued with craft pride that is akin to professional pride.

The union is the medium for assuring industrial justice prerequisite to that good will essential to cooperation in carrying out production plans. The union is the only way workers can participate equitably in the contract which fixes terms and conditions of work. It provides the agency for orderly self-direction on the part of the workers that abolishes from the industry that element of despotism against which human nature ever revolts.

To include the union among the functional divisions of the industry removes a cause of incalculable industry waste. To ignore or fight the union brings conflict. To accord to the union opportunity to perform its constructive function means linking another power group into a coordinated system. Each worker is a power unit contributing both physical and brain power. The power capacity of each released by his will reflects subtle influences consciously or unconsciously. Each human power unit may be working automatically and unthinkingly or each may alertly use tools, machinery and materials, vigilantly watching each development with that creative attitude of mind that assures progress. The union is essential to maintaining this quality of workmanship. The union makes these individual power sources a coordinated, directed power undertaking, assures the worker his rights and makes it possible for him to concentrate on his duties. The union coordinates individual capacities into a power pool.

That incalculable production advantages will accrue if the union is permitted to function constructively is evident from practical experience. There are a number of illustrations of individual plants, but an outstanding example of the development that follows from cooperation is the relationship existing between the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L. and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This new phase of constructive union work was initiated by the Machinists' Union, developed slowly in one shop and taken over by the Railroad Department of the A. F. of L., then extended to forty-four other shops. Under the agreement between the unions and the company wages and conditions of work were negotiated and it was agreed that the unions would cooperate with the management to reduce the costs of repairs and to improve methods of work. Assured of certain rights for the workers, the union employed a high-grade engineer to advise them. A program of workers' education is in progress of development to be coordinated with shop work. This cooperative development is commanding the attention of the railroads, as it demonstrates efficiency and economy.

Public Regulation and Social Service

In addition to providing that all groups within the industry shall have a functional part in determining the management policies of the industry

there must be developed principles and agencies whereby directing control of the power industry is mindful of social needs and standards, as well as of efficient economic service. The agencies of regulation must measure up to this task. Fundamental to real progress toward this end is full information on the power industry understandable by the non-technical and available to the public. The facts accumulated by the organized agencies concerned with production should constitute the basis upon which the policies of public control should be formulated. These organized agencies should have a responsible part in helping to develop policies.

The industry must explain to the public and its regulatory agencies the reasons for the striking rate differences recently published by Judson King of the National Popular Government League:

\$3.55	\$23.18
Mrs. J. Cullom,	Dr. Cora Smith King,
250 Victoria Avenue.	1736 Columbia Road N. W.
To	To
The Hydro-Electric System, Dr.	Potomac Electric Power Co., Dr.
Niagara Falls, Ontario.	Washington, D. C.
Electric Light Service for July,	December 15, 1922, to January 15,
1922.	1923.
334 K. W. H. \$3.55	334 K. W. H. \$23.18

(I have examined the original bills reproduced in part and certify that the above is a true copy showing amount of electricity used and the price paid as shown by the said bills.

(Signed) A. D. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C., May 21, 1924. Notary Public.
(Seal.)

The facts brought out in these two bills indicate why the power industry needs the benefit of the experience of publicly owned and operated power plants. The users of electricity are not so much interested in academic discussion of private versus public ownership as they are in \$3.55 versus \$23.18 for the same service. The facts represented by \$3.55 ought to be brought to bear upon \$23.18.

Summarized, the principles which American labor deems essential for the best development of our power industry are:

1. Functional organization of every essential factor concerned in the industry, so that these organizations may serve as recording centers for the experience of each group necessary to conscious progress—trade associations, engineering and professional societies, trade unions, etc.

2. The voluntary association of the national organizations of these groups in a national industrial council thus making the full experience of all in the industrial world available for developing the best policies for production and control.

3. That each power undertaking and power plant develop local organizations along similar lines.

4. That trade unions shall develop full responsibility for negotiating all

agreements determining wages, hours and conditions of work, for educating employes in the methods and processes of cooperation for the elimination of industrial waste and the development of more efficient production and for assuring a square deal to the workers.

5. That such regulation as may be necessary to assure the best social use and conservation of power resources and to assure efficient service at equitable rates to society shall be vested in governmental agencies authorized to determine conditions on which franchises shall be granted for specific periods of time and to determine equitable rates, pass upon bond and stock issues with unrestricted powers to examine records and to prescribe forms of records.

Regulation is a new policy and hence can not be prescribed in advance. We must develop the rules out of experience in its operation, holding ourselves bound to no dogmatic conclusions. Up to date regulation has been concerned chiefly with stipulating certain minimum standards, but it has constructive potentiality and in addition can assume the aggressive against abuses in the utility field. Regulation in order to perform its constructive function must have power to enforce its policies and must have a personal technically efficient as tested by their ability to get results in public service. Whether agencies for regulation are given national or regional jurisdiction we must have national power policies into which all activity and planning shall fit. The power industry is a public utility and hence foregoes claims urged by private business. Water power, one of our most important national resources, must be included in national conservation policies, hence ownership must be reserved by the people and decision made in each undertaking as between public or private initiative and development. Labor holds as a fundamental principle of conservation that such titles as our government now has energy resources—water, coal and oil—be kept in perpetuity and that we seek to regain whatever is necessary of other titles to complete our control over our national power policies.

The program labor outlines is preventive as well as constructive. Consider for a moment our railroad problems, over-capitalization, the costs of lack of unification, of failure to coordinate water and rail traffic, the labor controversies, the blind groping for national railway policies. Had a national policy for regulation of railroads been developed thirty years ago we would not have such an enormous crop of errors in railroad developments rising up to plague us. Let us use our railroad experience to help us meet more intelligently the problems of developing the principles of power regulation.

The fundamental principle which labor regards as the keystone in our method in developing the technique of public regulation is that every group that has vital relationship to the industry shall be responsible for contributing its information for the benefit of the development of principles of regulation and that definite channels be provided for the fulfillment of that responsibility.

The strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations, tongues and kindreds.—Abraham Lincoln.

An Injunction Case Without Parallel

By JOHN P. FREY

FOR a number of years the members of the Bakers' Union in Springfield and Holyoke, Mass., had worked for the Massachusetts Baking Company under signed trade agreements. When an effort was made to renew the annual agreement in the early months of 1923, it was discovered that the company, which had been extending the number of its plants in Massachusetts, was unwilling to enter into any further written agreements. The Springfield manager, however, met the committee of his employees and the business agent of the union, informing them that while it was impossible for him to renew the agreement by attaching his signature, that he was prepared to do this verbally, and that the previous relationship and shop conditions for the bakers would not be changed and the wage scale would be the rate requested. Shortly after this, the President of the Massachusetts Baking Company gave a statement to the press which inferred that he would not be governed by any verbal agreement with the union.

This statement led to a strike of the bakers employed by the Massachusetts Baking Company in Springfield. Other reasons led to a strike at approximately the same time at the company's bakery in Holyoke.

Scarcely had the strike occurred when the company, through its attorney, filed a petition with the court for a temporary restraining order.

The company had apparently carefully considered the choice of an attorney, for it selected Mr. Herbert A. Baker, a Boston lawyer who had become well known in Massachusetts because of the success which he had encountered in connection with securing injunctions during labor disputes and the arguments upon the same, when trade unionists carried an appeal to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Among the prominent injunction cases in which he was chief counsel were the Moore Drop Forge Company; the Springfield Foundry Company; the National Equipment Company; the Bauman Clothing Corporation, and the Asinoff Clothing Company cases.

Mr. Baker was credited with having been successful in securing a judicial construction of equity by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, which enabled organized employers to disrupt the trade union organization among their employees, and compel them to sign individual contracts, and which at the same time, held that a strike on the part of trade unionists to prevent the success of such a conspiracy was an illegal one which should be properly restrained by a court of equity.

When the striking bakers, who had already declared the Massachusetts Baking Company unfair to organized labor, and had placed pickets around the plant, were notified that they must appear in court to give reasons why a temporary injunction should not be issued, and had learned that Mr. Baker was to represent the company, they went to the Central Labor Council of Springfield, Mass., for assistance and advice.

The Council appointed a committee to assist the bakers, the chairman being John F. Gatelee at that time Business Agent of the Moving Picture

Operators' Union, though working daily at his trade, and Vice-President of the Central Labor Council.

The appointment of this committee launched him upon a series of experiences with the courts and the labor injunction which is unique and without parallel, both as to methods and results.

As an active trade unionist he had seen injunction after injunction carried up on appeal to the Supreme Court of the state, where the most obnoxious features of the restraining orders were given judicial approval. He had taken an active part in two famous Springfield cases, that of the Moore Drop Forge Company and the Springfield Foundry Company.

He had watched the methods adopted by the attorneys employed to defend trade unionists under injunctions; had witnessed their failure, and had also seen the heavy financial costs required in the carrying of these cases to their unsuccessful end.

He was of the opinion that it was a waste of money and of no practical value to employ attorneys in the Bakers' case.

He could not see how it was possible, in view of decisions of the State Supreme Court, to have the same lawyers who had previously represented labor in such cases, succeed in prevailing upon the Supreme Court to reverse its previous decisions, or prevail upon a lower court to refuse to issue the injunction.

He was convinced that to oppose the issuing of the temporary injunction in the usual manner was a fruitless effort.

Other Springfield trade unionists were of the same opinion. The final decision reached by the committee was to have the striking bakers appear in court without legal representation; to inform the court that they were of the opinion that it was impossible for them to secure justice through the employment of attorneys or under decisions of the Supreme Court in previous labor injunctions cases, and afterwards accept whatever consequences might follow. It was agreed that Mr. Gatelee should prepare a written statement embodying these opinions. The statement was written but was never given publicity, the opportunity not having presented itself, owing to the court's action in referring the case to a Master.

The carefully prepared statement is of much importance both because of its substance, and the part it is assumed to have played in connection with the case.

It had been the intention, after appearance had been made in court, to place the statement on the judge's bench and permit him to do whatever his conscience prompted in the issuing of a temporary injunction, and accept the consequences, whatever they might be.

The night before the first appearance in court, a copy was shown to a representative of the Associated Press, who was so impressed by its substance that he desired to have several copies so that he could send them over the wires as soon as the copy had been placed upon the judge's bench. It has been assumed that a copy reached the court's attention through this channel before the case was first heard in court.

When Mr. Gatelee, as adviser for the strikers, appeared in court to

object to the issuing of a temporary restraining order, the court, to the strikers' surprise, decreed that the case would be referred back to the parties to the dispute for the purpose of endeavoring to adjust their differences. This prevented the presentation of the prepared statement, which is now published for the first time, as an appendix.

The first hearing of the case came before Justice Pierce of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, sitting in Boston. After Attorney Baker had presented the employers' case before the court, Mr. Gatelee answered the attorney's arguments and statements, denying all of the allegations made. He suggested that the points at issue between the Bakers' Union and the Massachusetts Baking Company be submitted to arbitration. Justice Pierce held that this proposition was a fair one, and ordered the parties to the dispute to retire to an unoccupied court room and attempt to adjust their differences. No agreement being reached, this fact was reported back to the court. Justice Pierce instead of granting a preliminary injunction, issued a mandatory order that both parties should meet again in Springfield and make an honest effort to reach an understanding. This conference was held, and also resulted in failure, the reason being the firm's refusal to alter its position in any manner to meet with the union's desires.

Shortly afterwards a hearing on the matter was held before Justice Carroll of the Supreme Court in Boston, Mass., at which time the results of the conference in Springfield between both parties were placed before the court. Attorney Baker again made a strenuous effort to secure the issuing of a temporary restraining order. Justice Carroll declined to issue the order, and instead remanded the entire case to Judge McLaughlin of the Superior Court sitting in Boston.

Attorney Baker made every effort to secure the issuing of a temporary restraining order from this judge. Mr. Gatelee objected, holding that the refusal of Justices Pierce and Carroll to grant a restraining order was proof that the injunction requested was unjustified. Instead of granting Attorney Baker's request Judge McLaughlin ordered the matter referred to a Master to hear the evidence, and report the findings back to the court. Attorney Baker and Mr. Gatelee became deadlocked on the selection of a master, which led Judge McLaughlin to select Hon. Wm. G. McKechnie of Springfield.

No sooner had Attorney Baker listened to the court's decision to refer the question to a Master, than he presented the plea which is invariably customary in such cases. He called upon Mr. Gatelee to guarantee that the strikers, pending the Master's report, would refrain from picketing, boycotting, carrying banners, and the other acts sought to be restrained by the terms of the injunction which he had prepared. It was particularly at this point that Mr. Gatelee began his novel experiences as a trade union official, unfamiliar with court practices, undertaking to defend trade unionists in an injunction case. He promptly refused to agree to any cessation of boycotting, picketing, or banner carrying, and informed the court that the strikers would continue to apply these methods of protecting their rights and their welfare.

Hearings before the Master were of the usual character, except that

an exceptionally skilled attorney represented the employers, and a trade unionist, who had not been a student of the law, represented the strikers. The examination and cross examination of the employer, his representative, the striking bakers and the strike breakers was, perhaps, not of a character entirely in accord with all of the usual legal courtesies, for Mr. Gatelee was inexperienced and also determined that the vital facts should be clearly brought to light. He succeeded in uncovering the dishonesty and untruthfulness of a number of witnesses, as well as place the manager of the Springfield plant and the president of the corporation in a position which convinced the Master that they did not come before him with clean hands, as provided for by the basic rules of equity.

He was also successful in breaking down the value of testimony offered by some of the strike breakers who had previously been members of the union. One of these men was asked if he had been a member of the union? How he became a member? Had he taken an obligation before being initiated? Did this obligation bind him upon his word of honor as a man to be loyal to the union and protect its interests? Was he now working as a strike breaker, if he was, after having taken the obligation of initiation, how could any of his testimony concerning the strike be accepted at its face value? Attorney Baker objected most strenuously to much of the cross examination but Mr. Gatelee would not be denied. After hearings covering nine days, the Master finally submitted his report to the court, pointing out that there had been some misdemeanors by an individual or two among the strikers, but holding that these did not constitute any reason why the court should issue the temporary restraining order.

Governed by the Master's report the court refused to issue the restraining order, and Attorney Baker took an immediate appeal. This appeal led to other courts, and before the case was terminated five Superior Court judges and three justices of the State Supreme Court heard portions of the case. The final action, after eleven months of litigation was the dismissal of the case and a complete legal victory for the Bakers' unions in Springfield and Holyoke. During these eleven months the strikers continued to picket the shop, they continued the boycott, they continued to carry banners, and shortly after the final legal victory the Massachusetts Baking Company, so far as the Springfield and Holyoke unions of bakers were concerned, entered into a written agreement with them along the lines of their former agreements, so that in addition to a legal, there was also a complete trade union victory.

Attorney Baker had vigorously attacked the Master's report. He attacked the conduct of the hearings before the Master, the Master's conclusions, and even his personal integrity, every legal technical device being used for the purpose of breaking down the Master's report. These efforts included several hearings before three judges of the Superior Court, and owing largely to Mr. Gatelee's keenness of insight and ability, Attorney Baker was uniformly unsuccessful in his efforts to have the Master's report modified or nullified. In due time Mr. Gatelee applied for an interlocutory decree confirming the Master's report, the decree asking for the dismissal of the

complaints with costs to the plaintiffs. Attorney Baker filed a decree praying for an injunction with costs to the defendants.

At this stage of the proceedings Judge McLaughlin challenged Mr. Gatelee's right to appear in court in behalf of the Bakers' Union without being a member of the bar. He met this effort to prevent his further appearance in connection with the case by securing powers of attorney from the representatives of the two Bakery Unions who were then in the court room, after which Judge McLaughlin permitted him to proceed. Written briefs were then submitted by Attorney Baker and Mr. Gatelee, and afterwards oral arguments presented.

At the conclusion of the hearing Judge McLaughlin took the matter under advisement and some two weeks afterwards handed down a decision dismissing the bills of complaint with the costs assessed against the plaintiff, the Massachusetts Baking Company.

When the court proceedings had reached that stage where it was necessary to prepare briefs, Mr. Gatelee was given assistance by Theodore G. Lewis, a well known attorney in Springfield. Aside from this assistance Mr. Gatelee was compelled to depend wholly upon his own resourcefulness and ability while before the Master or in the court room.

Mr. Gatelee's extraordinary experiences as a layman defending an injunction case before various courts, gave him a practical insight into many problems and situations with which the average trade unionist is not wholly familiar. While examining and cross examining witnesses before the Master he noted that the testimony of two members of the union seemed to be quite favorable to the Massachusetts Baking Company. As they were members of the union Attorney Baker was able to greatly strengthen his case through the testimony he secured from them. This led Mr. Gatelee to cross examine them as vigorously and severely as though they had been opposition witnesses, the result being that the value of their original testimony was destroyed.

As the strike progressed it was discovered that both of these men were "plants" inside of the Bakers' Union, men who, for the usual handful of Judas silver, betray their fellow workers for the employer's smile, plus a little money. His experience with previous injunction cases in Springfield and other cities in Massachusetts, and his study of the testimony in those cases, convinced him that in practically every one of these, the testimony secured from some members of the union was in reality testimony given in court by spies who had been kept inside of the union either by the employers directly, or through some agency which they employed for the purpose of damaging the union.

In Massachusetts a Master is frequently requested to hear evidence and argument, and submit a report to the court before a preliminary injunction is issued. In the Springfield case Mr. Gatelee refused to accept any of the names for appointment suggested by Mr. Baker, believing that labor's chances of securing the appointment of a fair and open-minded Master would be much better if left to the judge's discretion.

He also found, as the case proceeded, that it was possible to reduce

many of the costs which trade unions encounter, one being the wages paid to court stenographers. In the selection of a stenographer in connection with Master's hearings, an agreement is presumed to be reached between the plaintiff and defendant. Mr. Gatelee refused to agree to any stenographer proposed by the plaintiff, the result being that the Massachusetts Baking Co. was compelled to bear the entire cost of the stenographer, which amounted to about a thousand dollars.

So far at least as Springfield and vicinity is concerned, Mr. Gatelee reached the conclusion that it is practically impossible to secure competent attorneys to adequately represent labor in injunction cases. First, they are fearful of taking such cases because of the result which it might have upon their professional standing.

They are unwilling to go to the same extremes in defending their clients as they would in a civil or criminal case.

They are fearful of the effect upon their future practice.

Business men are the ones who pay the large fees and who constitute the most valuable class of clients. Attorneys for this reason, are in most instances, unwilling to handle an injunction case in a manner which would be calculated to win the dislike of business men.

Coming into contact with a highly trained lawyer before the Master and the courts in which the case had its hearings, led Mr. Gatelee to realize how thoroughly informed corporation attorneys are, and of the great assistance given to them by the legal bureaus maintained by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Metal Trades Association, the National Founders Association, and others. These legal bureaus devote their time to the collection and the study of all labor legislation and court cases. The legal information collected by these bureaus constitutes a systematized fund of information relative to the law and judicial decisions which covers every important case coming before the state or the federal courts. It places at the corporation attorney's disposal all available legal knowledge. On the other hand the attorneys representing labor have no such fund of carefully indexed and analyzed decisions at their disposal. They enter upon a case without an opportunity of access to the carefully compiled records covering the wide field of information which organized employers have been wise and practical enough to have collected in order to protect and advance their own interests.

The court experiences of the Bakers' Unions in Springfield and Holyoke, and those of Mr. Gatelee are unique in the history of labor injunction cases. Beginning with the determination to appear in court without legal representation, because of the conviction that legal representation could accomplish no satisfactory results and afford no prospect of securing justice, Mr. Gatelee found himself appearing before court after court, handling the case from its inception until some eleven months afterwards the final decree was issued and a complete legal victory won.

Believing that a mistake had been made in previous cases when strikers agreed to cease picketing and boycotting pending the action of the court in the issuing of a temporary injunction, Mr. Gatelee had insisted in the

beginning that picketing, boycotting and banner carrying would continue. As a result of this decision it was possible to win the strike.

Shortly after the first steps in the case had been taken, his determination to waive some of the usual legal courtesies between contending attorneys, left him free to bring out salient testimony before the Master which would probably have lost some of its force under usual methods of procedure.

What the results of such an experience will be is for the future to demonstrate. What has taken place, however, is evidence that under some circumstances a trade unionist battling for the rights of his fellow trade unionists can enter new fields of effort and win a remarkable legal victory in the face of the greatest odds. For a trade unionist, who, though an officer of his union, works every day at his trade, to face one of the state's ablest attorneys and for eleven months successfully overcome him at every stage of the lengthy and varied proceedings is a record of achievement which is unequalled in trade union annals. The result of his victory is also unique in the record of labor injunctions.

The statement which was to have been presented to Justice Pierce, and which is now given publicity for the first time, is as follows:

MASSACHUSETTS BAKING COMPANY

vs.

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' LOCAL UNION NO. 32.

*To the Honorable Justices of the
Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court:*

Now come the defendants in the above entitled case, and expressly against the advice and counsel of their attorneys, state that they have come to a realization of the utter hopelessness of attempting to defend in an action at equity involving the use of injunction in labor disputes; and they are convinced that the justice generally meted out in these cases affords no relief to the rights of the many, when opposed to the privileges of the few, and therefore they respectfully refrain from answering in the hearing on temporary injunction as asked for in the bill of this complainant.

That such a course of action is not dictated in any way by a feeling of guilt in the premises, but rather, is a protest against the decisions in similar cases, and to which these defendants do not care to voluntarily acquiesce in.

If it may please the court, we will take this opportunity of justifying our stand, not in the cold-blooded legal phraseology of the trained lawyer, but rather in the simple language of the worker, bewildered and helpless, as he is gathered into the intricate meshes of the law.

It is our opinion that the decisions emanating from our Courts of Equity, in their assumption of jurisdiction over the disputes between employer and employee, are exceedingly drastic and restrictive in their provisions.

We can not help but feel as a result of our experience as trade unionists in Massachusetts, that the aid and comfort of the courts is extended to the employer with a prodigal hand, while the worker seems shackled and fettered by the court's prohibitions, so that the legal right to organize into trade

unions has appeared to become a right which can only be enjoyed when the employer gives his consent.

That if he engages in a legal strike, he conducts it in an illegal manner; if he has legal pickets, they perform illegally; if he acquaints his fellow trade unionists with the conditions existing, he is conducting an illegal boycott; if he asks recognition of the union in negotiations with the employer, he is making an illegal demand; if he strikes to protect members who have been discharged for their activities, he is in the commission of an illegal act; if he tries to increase the membership of his union in competition with the Individual Contract, he is acting illegally, in fact, everything he does is wrong.

Labor has contested with the employer in many recent instances of note, and has employed the best legal brains that his resources could afford.

Whether it is on account of the prejudices of the masters appointed or the judicial precedents which the courts follow, it is a remarkable fact that labor always loses in these cases, and is being bound tighter and tighter each time.

Many times your honorable court has voiced the opinion that labor organizations are legal, and have a right to function for the betterment of their members. Still, when the employer wishes to destroy a labor union, he simply follows along a broad path blazed for him by the judicial precedents established, and he is held immune from any challenge, no matter how peaceful or orderly it may be, that can be offered by a union of his employes.

If the judicial precedents which have been established are followed to their logical conclusion, the employer will have succeeded in totally destroying all semblance of trades unions in industry, and we will be relegated to the master and slave conditions which existed nearly one hundred years ago.

Just how much further along this path the workers will be carried in the future, is a question we are daily considering, in view of the decisions of equity courts which are accepted by employers as conferring upon them the authority to organize and then use their organization for the purpose of destroying the trade union organization of their employes.

At the present time, in the city of Springfield, there are over twenty thousand trade unionists under permanent injunction restraining them from doing several things which they believe that they have an unquestioned legal right to do, but which, unfortunately, interfere with the free exercise of another legal right of an employer.

These twenty thousand trades unionists each represent, according to government statistics, a family of four dependants, so that as a matter of fact, eighty thousand residents of Springfield, or two-thirds of its entire population are restrained by your edicts from exercising the rights to combine, and to urge their fellow workers to combine, if in any way their act should interfere with the free and open operation of one employer's plant in its dealings with its workers.

We refer to the decisions in the National Equipment, Springfield Foundry, Moore Drop Forge Company, Bauman Clothing Company, Phelps Publishing Company, and Sheptner Fancy Leather Goods Company.

As a result of the decisions in the foregoing cases, many large unions

have been totally destroyed, hours of labor have been increased, and rates of wages reduced. In the process, hundreds of innocent women and children were made to suffer the privations of hunger and the other hardships resulting from unemployment.

The voice of the great multitude of workers is now raised in protest that the practice of equity should now seem to be used in administering punishment, rather than in affording protection.

If there is any issue of irreparable damage in these cases at all, it is that suffered by the worker, who, enjoined by the courts from fighting back at the employer, sees his savings dwindle away, his children forced into industry prematurely, and his little property wiped out by mounting debt.

If there is any conspiracy it is that hatched among the employers, and by the paid secret agents of the employer working from within the labor organization, and who see to it that those elements necessary to the successful prosecution of labor suit in equity are present.

If there is any coercion or intimidation, it is that practiced by the employer on his employes, when he sends emissaries to the homes of his workers, threatening, cajoling, and urging them to forsake their fellow workers.

In view then of these facts as herein set forth, we again respectfully decline to answer, through attorneys employed for that purpose, to the request made by the plaintiffs for a temporary injunction. Nevertheless, without presentation of our case by counsel we do earnestly and respectfully protest against any decision in this case which may in any manner deprive us of our constitutional rights as citizens, as provided for our protection in the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of Massachusetts.

"Old Glory," the story we're wanting to hear
Is what the main facts of your christening were
For your name just to hear it, repeat it and cheer it
'Tis a tang to the spirit, as salt as a tear.
And seeing you fly, and the boys marching by
There's a shout in the throat and a tear in the eye.
And a longing to live for you always or die,
If by dying we still keep you floating on high
And so by our love for you floating above
And the scars of all wars and the sorrows thereof.
Who gave you the name of Old Glory, and why
Are we thrilled by the name of Old Glory?

The old banner leaped out like a sail in a blast
And fluttered an audible answer at last,
And it spake with a shake in its voice as it said
By the driven snow white and the living blood red
Of my bars, with their heaven of stars overhead,
By the symbol conjoined of them all skyward cast,
As I float from the Steeple or flap at the mast
Or droop o'er the sod where the long grasses nod,
My name is as old as the Glory of God,
So I came by the name of Old Glory."

—James Whitcomb Riley.

The Church From the Standpoint of Labor

By EDGAR A. PERKINS

(The following article was delivered as an address at the First Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis, Ind. The Rev. Matthew F. Smith, pastor of the church, dealt with social activity and its relation to the church in a series of six sermons. Preceding his sermons, he had a layman speak from a layman's viewpoint of the subject he was to discuss. Mr. Perkins, member of the International Typographical Union, organizer for the American Federation of Labor and a veteran of the labor movement, was asked to speak on the relation of labor to the church, and the article gives his version of the subject.)

SPEAKING on this subject, "The Church from the Standpoint of Labor," my remarks must be largely in the first person, and to a degree express my environment and association. I do not believe in a labor caste or a labor class. There are no imaginary lines dividing society into stationary groups. There are those who in the allotment find themselves employed as wage workers; and these are of the same general attributes as the run of humankind—good, bad, and indifferent; the wise and the foolish; the reasoning and the unreasoning; the virtuous and the vicious; selfish and unselfish; godly and the worldly.

So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He them; male and female created He them. . . . And God saw everything He had made, and behold it was very good.

And He stretched forth His hand toward His disciples and said, Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother.

I am not unmindful that orderly society presupposes discipline, and constituted authority; nor do I forget that the average human is largely animal; that acknowledgement of authority is an acquired trait. And that all of this means force—and that this brings us back to primal conditions.

I do not believe there is any way to determine what labor thinks on this question any more than it is possible to say what labor thinks in politics. Except in this: that labor, so called, makes up the major part of the people—it is the multitude.

A recent survey in this state would indicate that a large part of the people are not active participants in church affairs. If these figures are correct, it follows that labor—the multitude—is outside the portals. If this is true it would indicate that there is not much difference between things today and as they have ever been. In Mark we read that the common people heard Him gladly; in Matthew it is said that "when they sought to lay hold on Him they feared the multitude," and again that "the chief priests and the elders persuaded the multitude," and that Pilate washed his hands before the multitude "and all the people answered and said His blood be on us and on our children," and he scourged Him and delivered Him to be crucified. Those whose bodies furnished the torches to light the Appian way were of the same social stratum as those that stoned Stephen, and the rule holds good on down the years—one part accepting, another part rejecting. It is easy to believe that, had our industrial conditions prevailed in those early

days, with the modern day cleavage, the multitude would have been as it is today—pretty largely of the element designated labor. There is today no more cohesiveness of thought than there was then.

As We Sow, We Shall Reap

That part of labor with which I have ever associated—and we are pleased to think of ourselves as the safe and sane, step-by-step folk—believe no more in the established order, in the status quo, than does the church. It may even be that these two are tilling the same field, mayhap using different tools and turning the furrow to a varying depth. I do not speak for the “class-conscious” element of labor—their views and mine in relation to the church would no more harmonize than would our views on established institutions. The I. W. W., the socialist, the communist—those that I have known—almost without exception have looked on the church as a stumbling block in the way of progress; being materialists they deny the foundation and see in the agency nothing but machinery to deceive and circumvent. These are, however, part of the multitude—of labor—and their number is perhaps more considerable than is generally known. We of the trade union movement—that part of organized labor which has guided labor in this country, which has kept its development true to the ideals of our political institutions and which has been a source of strength to an extent but poorly appreciated—believe there is no royal or cross lots road to achievement—and that all, regardless of station in life—rich and poor—coming from the same source are destined for the same end; that as individuals our salvation, industrial or spiritual, is within our own hands, and that as we sow likewise shall we reap.

This is a perfect and very practical world, under the management of exceedingly impractical and rather imperfect people. We in the labor movement are not seeking to make perfect individuals, nor are we seeking to usher in a perfect condition of society. We are seeking to alter the rules so that all who wish may be permitted to develop to the full extent of their capabilities.

“Man does not live by bread alone”—he is both material and spiritual in his makeup, and to insure the proper development of the individual, surroundings must be such as to permit development of both of these elements. A healthy, well-nourished body is more likely to reflect a healthy soul than is a body reduced by deprivation. Creature comforts and environment have much to do with determining one’s attitude toward the social order; low wages and long hours of employment are not conducive to social harmony. Alley houses and crowded tenements do not tend toward high spiritual conceptions. Two million children under 15 years of age and several million women in gainful occupations, many under conditions against which we would protest were our own women folk so employed, do not make for social tranquillity. Two thousand coal diggers sacrificed each year that we may enjoy the comforts of modern civilization and tens of thousands of workmen killed and maimed in the industries of the country, with resultant widows and orphans or diminished wage-earning capacity and depreciated

standards, do not tend to convince those in contact that all is well with the world.

It boots nothing to quarrel with an obvious fact. Nothing is more certain than that he who controls the purse strings of a nation controls its destiny. It is likewise a patent fact that the multitude does not now, any more than it did two thousand years ago, control the purse strings. Papini, in his "Life of Christ," says:

The king represents force and is a protector of wealth; but we have nothing to do with violence and reject riches. Our kingdom has no potentates and has no rich men; the king of our heaven does not coin money. What little is necessary for us, a little sunshine, a little air, a little piece of bread, a cloak will be given freely to us by God and God's friends.

Quite likely this sentiment would be reciprocated by most of the multitude—but not by all. I have no quarrel with wealth. I have no quarrel with those who possess wealth. I do not believe that virtue or viciousness is an attribute of either wealth or poverty. No one who subscribes to the philosophy of the trade union movement thinks otherwise. Nor do I think that the church could espouse the extreme view of Papini and accomplish anything. Yet, the church presupposes brotherhood; its being is found in Matthew xxii, 37-40.

Founder of Church a Worker

The foundation of the church is the Carpenter of Nazareth—one who followed His trade, earned His living at manual labor, whose social status was of the mass, whose environment was of the lowly; those who made up His first groupings were largely of this element; the greater part of His followers, the adherents of the early church, were of the less conspicuous members of society. His message was to all humanity, but there is an especial appeal to the down-trodden—so much so it may be said to be almost as much economic, industrial or political as it is spiritual. He was against the established order. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword."

The church is representative of His teachings; into its care has been confided the mission of establishing His reign on earth. This means change in our present way of doing things—it means social readjustment. Does it mean "sell that thou hast and follow me?" Does it mean that one can not serve God and mammon?

The critic seeking fault with the church will say that it does. He will point out that there is an unresponsiveness on the part of the church to the mass; that there is an apparent evasion of the truth; that the church has within its membership many who are of the appearance, but not of the spirit. These critics fail to realize that, regardless of the inspiration of the church, it is man constituted and man ordered; that the frailties of the flesh adhere and weaken its efficiency just as with all things human. The critic of the church sees its faults, but misses its virtues.

Undoubtedly hypocrisy stalks through its being, just as with Him, many who followed to the desert place went for the material loaves and fishes. The real friends of the church see its shortcomings; but they likewise

note that the portals open wide for those disposed to enter. All those who cry Lord, Lord are not to be saved.

Church and Labor Must Cooperate

I believe there should be a close understanding between labor and the church—for the beginning of the church was with the lowly and the culmination of its desires would mean the consummation of labor's hopes. The church, if true to its mission, is seeking to make this world a better place in which to live. It is endeavoring to inspire men and women to a higher purpose in life; it is seeking to eradicate those things that debase and destroy. Labor is engaged in the same mission. More than thirty years ago Samuel Gompers said:

You can not weigh a human soul in the same scales with a piece of pork.
You can not weigh the heart and soul of a child with the same scales upon which you weigh any commodity.

And again, many years before, he said:

It is only through the enlightenment begotten from material prosperity that mental advancement becomes possible.

A quarter century ago, appearing before a legislative committee asking favorable consideration of a child labor bill and hearing a minister of the gospel, together with others whom I knew were pillars in the church, speak for the opposition, I am mindful that I was filled with bitterness and resentment. But on reflection I realized that these were individuals, and I remembered that we had individuals in our own labor movement. I knew that the hearts of those who opposed this bill were not beating in unison with the One who spoke the kindly word for little children.

Thirty years ago nothing was so cheap in industry as the human factor. Men were killed and the widow and the orphan were left to the pitiless mercy of charity. Labor then was seeking correction; but there was little response. The church was not apparently interested. Today there is a different story. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ, the Catholic church through its social agencies, to say nothing of the many organizations connected with the individual church organizations are making a study of industrial and social conditions.

Something like twenty years ago fraternal delegates from a religious organization were seated in the American Federation of Labor. About that time a recommendation came from headquarters to the local movements that it would be desirable were friendly relations established between the federated unions and the local ministerial associations. In several places throughout the country this program was consummated, but for one reason or another it was not as successful as its proponents had wished. In this city the men active in the local affairs took up the matter of reciprocal relations. Several ministers in the city were friendly to the overtures. Some influence, however, was sufficient to block the efforts. However, the Presbyterian church had among its ministers one who thought he saw a field. He came as a fraternal delegate to the local Central Labor Union, and was a regular attendant for many months. He is today in the work of

the church, his office located but a few doors from Tammany Hall, well-known and well thought of by those who control the political life of New York City and the Empire state, but, greater still, loved and revered by that great mass that has its being in that congested neighborhood, and in a degree at least, getting the influence of Galilee to those that, but for his efforts, might be denied. The men who were directing the affairs of the trade union movement at that time were not foolish. They saw the influence that blocked the advances; they sensed the reason. The reasoning of their opponents was wrong. Labor did not seek affiliation with the ministerial associations to strengthen its position in a selfish way. The principal mission of organized labor is social—indeed, it may be said that this is its only mission. The mission of the church is much the same. To unite these two forces was to make progress. Neither would approve all that the other espoused, but on the big things there would have been agreement. Labor does not insist on arbitrary rules in correction of abuses. Personally I think the church must go to the multitude—but as to how this may be done I have no suggestion.

Humanity Growing Better

Summing it all up this is about the way it appears to me—and I wish to emphasize that I do not claim this to be the attitude of labor, but merely the opinion of one who has been and who is a wage worker. The church makes its appeal to humans; its purpose is to make of this animal that walks upright something better than it ever has been; to humanize him. Looking back over the progress that mankind has made, there is no particular reason to despair. Human kind is better off today than it has ever been—and is constantly growing better in every way—mentally, morally, materially. There never were any good old times—in the full acceptance of that term. A little more than a hundred years ago there were a hundred offenses in England that carried the death penalty; less than a hundred years ago a parliamentary inquiry disclosed that nude women were being employed as beasts of burden in the coal mines of that country; children as young as six years were employed twelve and fourteen hours a day; the housing conditions were almost beyond belief. In this country things were somewhat better, yet as late as thirty years ago (yes, in some places as late as a dozen years ago—and even now) little children were employed long hours; women were given scant consideration in the industrial world. Here in Indianapolis we protested against the fact that in one line of industry women on certain nights worked as late as 11 o'clock, and began work at 7 in the morning. Even today, according to a statement made by a public official, many women in this state are employed twelve hours a day; and child labor has not entirely disappeared even in good old Indiana. But things are much better and there is a constant trend toward betterment.

Where are we to look for the cause? I would like to say that it is entirely due to the movement of which I am a part. But, while I know that this movement is playing its part, and a very considerable part, it is only one. Perhaps the influence of the church is much more far reaching than even

its partisans comprehend. In any event, it stands for the better things of life. Nothing is as practical, nothing offers larger returns on the investment than the gospel of Jesus Christ. Whether it be to individual or to group in the affairs of man, its inducement is the same. Its obligations are not onerous—and its returns manifold. The church is the repository of the mission of Christ. His message is plain and understandable. If there is apparent lack of understanding on the part of labor—of the multitude—toward the church, it is to no greater extent than lack of understanding of labor by the directing forces of the church. Both the church and organized labor are constituted of men. Each is as frail as is humanity.

Having been a proselyter in the labor field for many, many years, and fretting, in the days of my activity, at the meagerness of returns for the effort put forth, I can fully sympathize with those engaged in the work of the church who grow impatient of progress. But now, getting along toward the close, when I can look back and see with clearer vision, I marvel at the magnitude of results. There is cause for criticism of certain factors in the church; not for the church itself—for the church is Christ. Individuals and groups of individuals speaking in His name may pervert the purpose of His being; it may be that they do not sense the ultimate of His word. Yet these do not reflect the church; and they certainly do not understand the multitude. Labor wants to be neither master nor servant in the church, any more than it does in civil or industrial life; it wants to be part of. The message of Christ is to all the people—all are equal in His eyes—but in larger measure to those of the common herd—for there are so many more of them.

Shall the multitude be criticised if, not knowing how it arrives at its conclusions, remains aloof from the church organization because it unknowingly differentiates between the church inspiration and the material organization? Can it be criticised if it holds with Momerie:

The parish priest of austerity
Climbed up in a high church steeple
To be nearer God, so that he might hand
His word down to the people.
And in sermon script he daily wrote
What he thought was sent from heaven,
And dropped it down on the people's heads
Two times, one day in seven.
In his age, God said, "Come down and die."
And he cried out from the steeple,
"Where art thou, Lord?" And the Lord replied,
"Down here among My people."

Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.—
Thomas Jefferson.

One thorn of experience is worth a whole wilderness of warning.—*James Russell Lowell.*

The Trade Union Movement in Western Europe

(Belgium, France, Spain)

By L. KRAUSE

(Special Correspondence to the American Federationist)

THE strongest Belgian Union, numerically, is the *Commission Syndicale de Belgique* (Belgian Trade Union Commission). The Trade Union Commission is affiliated with the Belgian Labor Party, and has representatives on the party's board of directors. It is possible, therefore, for the trade unions to also exercise their influence in politics. (The inference is that this alliance alone makes possible an influence in politics, a proposition that the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, of course, can not accept.—Ed.)

On July 29, 1923, a great celebration took place in Brussels, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of the Trade Union Commission. In 1898, the commission had 13,727 members; in 1913, the membership was 126,714; in 1919, 629,736; in 1920, 718,410; and in 1922, 618,871.

The Congress preceding the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration was occupied mainly with the question of working time. It appealed to the workmen to struggle with all their means against every attempt to prolong working time and to energetically insist on the general introduction of the eight-hour day for all workers. The Congress approved the continuation of the hitherto adopted policy of merging so far as practicable, related craft unions into one association.

The legal introduction of workmen councillors in all establishments of trade and industry which employ not less than twenty persons, was also considered by the Congress. The functions of these councillors, working with the employers, are to secure labor legislation, and collective contracts, and regulate business methods and the employment and discharge of workers. Provision is made for the appointment of a special committee for each district. In addition, national committees consisting of members of the district committees are appointed for single industries. A similar organization is provided for the employers. The two groups form a common board for commerce and industry and join for common negotiations.

On the question of family wages, the Trade Union Commission circularized its affiliated unions. The union of functionaries was the only union which in principle opposed its introduction. The Congress resolved to work jointly with the Labor Party in the matter of the regulation of family wages and at the same time to carry on a special educational campaign to make this new demand clear to the workers.

The Congress of the *Confederation generale des Syndicats chretiens* (Federation of Christian Unions) also considered the family wages question at its Congress in May, 1923. This federation was not formed until 1908. It has a Wallonian and a Flemish section, and very quickly recovered from

the great gaps which the war made in its membership. In the beginning of 1920 the Federation had 160,000 members; by 1922 its membership had increased to more than 200,000. The Congress held that the lowest average wage of all workmen must be the minimum, and that special extra payments, therefore, could only come into question for extraordinarily large families. Family wages must be regulated by law and the common administration by employers and employed of additional allowances must be demanded.

France

Additional wage allowances for children have also made great progress in France during recent years. They were introduced during the war. An unsought consequence was that employers preferred workmen without families, thus diminishing their wage totals. Thereupon, in May, 1918, the metal industry created a common compensation fund to which every manager, without regard to the families of his employes, had to pay ten francs monthly for each workman. This fund is used to reimburse each employer for the sum total of the *sursalaire familial* (family wage) paid monthly by him to his workmen. This plan abolished the discrimination against men with families. The system has developed rapidly in France. Toward the end of 1920 there were fifty-seven compensation funds with 500,000 workmen; at the end of 1922 there were one hundred seven compensation funds with 7,000 managers and 800,000 workmen. On July 1, 1923 there were one hundred twenty compensation funds with 880,000 workmen.

The opinion of the French trade unionists has changed very much in recent times respecting negotiated agreements as to working conditions. More and more the tendency has grown to first endeavor to secure agreements by collective bargaining. The trade unions have rejected the idea of obligatory courts of arbitration. The general strike as a means for carrying through their demands won the sympathies of the French trade unions very early. Passive resistance was also a favorite method. The largest union is the Confédération générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor).

At the last biennial congress of the General Confederation of Labor, held in February, 1923, the statutes of the unions were thoroughly revised. It was decided that general strikes of several or all branches of industry could be called only by the C. G. T., and that to be valid a resolution to stop work in all industries must receive two-thirds of the votes of the represented trade unions, according to their numerical importance and the kind of industry. This majority of two-thirds must comprise such industries, as, in consequence of their influence on the economic life of the country, will render the strike effectual.

The much disputed principle of one vote for each trade union, without considering the number of members, has now been abandoned. The experience of previous years had shown that this principle had procured for the anarchists and communists a disproportionately large influence in the C. G. T. and that through it the entrance of the Communists into the trade unions had been facilitated.

The 1923 Congress adopted as principles for the future activity of the

C. G. T., the establishment of funds for the unemployed and increasing the contributions to them, assistance to social reforms, changing the taxes on wages, information regarding opportunities for employment, and nationalization.

The Congress maintained its affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions. (Amsterdam). Exact statistics as to the members of the C. G. T. are wanting. At the end of 1923, however, the number is believed to have been about 700,000.

In December, 1921, the left wing of the C. G. T. seceded and founded a central organization of its own—the *Confédération générale du Travail Unitaire* (General Confederation of United Labor). Its activity as a trade union federation was hampered by the quarrel over the question of affiliating with the Red Labor Union International (Moscow). The main issue was whether the C. G. T. U. should join the Moscow International without conditions, or on condition that the Communist Party acknowledge the independence of the trade unions. The foundation of a new international was also agreed to. After long and violent combats, fought out not only with words, but occasionally with fists, it was resolved by about three-fourths majority to join the Red International. The number of members is believed to be about 300,000.

In the last few years the Christian Trade Union Movement has made great progress. Representatives of the numerous Christian unions of workers, employes and functionaries resolved to found the *Confédération française des Travailleurs chrétiens* (Confederation of Christian Workers) at a Congress in 1920. The Confederation intends to be active on the basis of the Roman Catholic Church. Other unions than Roman Catholic ones are eligible for affiliation. As one of its major methods the Confederation endeavors to render the trade unions ready for combat by founding defense funds for use during strikes, although the latter are not to take place until all possibilities of a compromise have been exhausted. At the Congress in May, 1923, resolutions were adopted regarding the carrying through of the eight-hour day, preparations for a new social insurance law, professional improvements, and the employment of foreign workmen. The Confederation claims a membership of 125,000.

Spain

In Spain the preliminary conditions for the organization of the trade union movement have been unfavorable at all times and are still so. The right of coalition is insufficient and the often changing governments are as a rule too much inclined to proceed by force and oppression against the trade unions.

In November, 1922, a law was enacted which determines the principles for establishing unions. In order to found a trade union, the workmen of a craft or an industry must convene a meeting which takes place under the presidency of a representative of the Ministry of Labor. The statutes adopted, as well as later alterations, must be approved by the government. A trade union must consist of at least one hundred members and comprise the majority of the workmen of the trade, industry or district. The majority

must also participate in the organization meeting, else the trade union can not be formed. Trade unions of the same industry in different districts may join together to form a single federation.

Trade unions can only possess property in so far as it is necessary for offices, meetings, employment bureaus, vocational training shops, hospitals and similar establishments. The pursuit of political aims and commercial activity is prohibited. Members of a trade union who have been at least five years active in the profession or industry concerned are eligible for the board of directors. The members must be 18 years of age, Spaniards by nationality, and must be working in the trade in question. The dues of the members must be approved by the government, which also has the power to decrease them. These conditions were first effective in Barcelona, the most highly industrialized province. The decree, however, of a general trade union law is taken under consideration. In Spain there are three trade union federations. The *Union General de Trabajadores de España* (General Confederation of Labor) approaches the Socialist Party. The number of members in 1920 was 211,000, rising to 240,000 in July, 1921, and falling to 208,000 in September, 1922. At the Congress held in November, 1922, the activity of the union during the preceding two years was described. Attention was chiefly directed to the numerous reactionary measures of the government and to the economic crises.

The efforts to come to an agreement with the syndicalistic trade unions of Barcelona, the *Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo* (National Labor Confederation), and if possible to amalgamate the two centers, were not crowned with success. Statements about the exact number of members of the Barcelona Confederation are lacking. At the Congress of the German Syndicalists in 1919 their number was given as 350,000, although in the opinion of many this estimate is too high. The membership of the *Confederacion Nacional de Sindicatos Catolicos de Obreros* (Confederation of Catholic Trade Unions) numbers about 50,000.

Characteristic of the antagonism of the new Spanish government to the trade unions is the following summons of Rivera, the President of the military directorate:

The workmen are no longer accustomed to work. They have extraordinarily enhanced prices and thus have caused irreparable damages to the economics of the country. They must shake off the chains of the trade unions which pretend to procure advantages for them, but which in reality lead them to ruin. Trade unions whose aim is to improve and protect workmen shall be permitted. Those unions which form centers of resistance and prevent production are condemned. I hope that the Spanish workmen will obey this summons, so that it will not be necessary to fix hours and wages by law.

At the same time employers were told that the government was determined to maintain order and protect the employers in a far-reaching manner.

Aspiration sees only one side of every question; possession many.—
James Russell Lowell.

The International Leather Workers' Case

By JOHN P. LEAHY

(Representing the United Leather Workers' International Union and its members, in the District Court of the United States at St. Louis, in the Circuit Court of Appeals, and finally in the United States Supreme Court.)

TO A PROPER and intelligent understanding of the issues involved in this case it is—I think—essential and at all events it will be instructive to briefly detail the facts which led up to the bringing of the suit and upon which it was largely based.

The trunk and leather manufacturers of St. Louis several years prior to 1920 established an association of which each firm or corporation was a member and under which they operated their various plants, more particularly in relation to the conduct of the employes who worked in these plants. This association embraced every leather manufacturer in that city.

The association as a body dealt with the local of the United Leather Workers' International Union through the representatives of the local, the latter body being well organized and strong enough to demand recognition. Agreements were made between the committees of the manufacturers and the union providing for the hours of work, rate of compensation and the general conditions of the employment. This arrangement worked smoothly and harmoniously, complaints on both sides being adjusted satisfactorily to both organizations.

A few years prior to 1920 a movement was inaugurated by the Chamber of Commerce in St. Louis urging the establishment of "open shops" in all the manufacturing plants of that city. This apparently was formed by the local and national manufacturers' associations. Prior to 1920 the leather and trunk manufacturers of St. Louis became affiliated with the local and national manufacturers' associations and the president of the St. Louis combination of leather manufacturers became a prominent and active member in both these bodies.

Supported by the local and national associations of manufacturers, the St. Louis trunk and leather manufacturers in 1920 when the existing contracts with their employes had expired, assumed a defiant attitude and refused to renew these contracts with their employes or the representatives of the union and demanded a number of changes in same. Negotiations were then set on foot between the representatives of the union and the leather manufacturers, and owing to the intervention of a representative of the United States Labor Department an agreement was reached between both bodies. This agreement was subsequently broken at the instance of the leather manufacturers and they demanded fresh terms which would discriminate against union employes, but upon this point the unions refused to yield and a strike was the result. The strike was called in accordance with the rules of the union, and as the trial court subsequently found, in a legal manner. At the time the strike was called every trunk and leather worker in the employment of the leather manufacturers was a member of the union and on the calling of the strike all these employes quit their employ-

ment. This naturally brought a cessation of activity in the manufacture of trunks and leather goods in the factories of their employers.

Claiming that some of their employes had been intimidated into quitting their employment by the union and its representatives, five of the principal manufacturers, namely, the Herkert & Meisel Trunk Company, P. C. Murphy Trunk Company, James A. Quirk Trunk Company, Stability Leather Goods Manufacturing Company and the H. A. Kolb Trunk and Case Company, resorted to the familiar method of injunction and filed a bill for that purpose in the United States District Court in the Eastern Division of the Eastern Judicial District of Missouri. The plaintiffs in the bill were all Missouri corporations, and the defendants included local union No. 66 and fifty-one of its members, all of whom were citizens and residents of the State of Missouri. The jurisdiction of the case was based upon the allegation in the bill that the defendants had entered into a conspiracy to establish "closed shops" in the plaintiffs' plants, and in furtherance of this conspiracy were trying to interfere with the interstate commerce of the plaintiffs by intimidation, threats, assaults, etc., of their employes; that the plaintiffs had a large number of customers in other states from whom they had orders to ship their manufactured products in interstate commerce, and that they were unable to fulfill these contracts by reason of the unlawful interference of the defendants and the threats, and intimidations against their employes alleged to have been used by them.

The bill of the plaintiffs set forth as one of its substantive allegations that:

The plaintiffs controlled the entire business of manufacturing trunk and leather bags in the city of St. Louis, and that this result had been obtained by great labor and effort upon their part.

When I was retained in the case on the part of the defendants and examined the petition this averment impressed me as a confessed admission that the plaintiffs had established a monopoly in the leather and trunk manufacturing in St. Louis and as such ought to cut a sorry figure in a court of equity into which they were supposed to come with clean hands. I therefore decided to file no motion requesting separate trials which would very likely be overruled and which if sustained might less unfavorably affect the status of the plaintiffs.

From the averments of the bill and the information which I received from the defendants I became convinced that the big question in the case was that of the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States over the defendants and decided both in the pleading and at the trial that our main attention should be devoted to establishing by admissions of the plaintiffs and their witnesses secured upon cross examination or by testimony upon our side if necessary that there was no direct interference with interstate shipments, and even if a conspiracy existed and was established to the satisfaction of the court, its objective and only purpose was to bring about or rather continue the "closed shops" in the plaintiffs' factories, and if the plaintiffs' interstate commerce suffered as a result of this effort upon the part of the defendants, yet because of the fact that the plaintiffs were Missouri corporations and the defendants citizens and residents of the same state and

that such interference was not the direct object of the conspiracy but incidental to it, then the alleged conspiracy as set forth in the bill did not come under the ban of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act so as to give the federal courts jurisdiction of the case.

The evidence on the part of the plaintiffs offered at the trial of the case showed that the strike was peacefully conducted; physical violence there was none and the threats and allegations alleged to have been used were admitted to have been employed by persons whose identity was not disclosed or who were not proved to be members of the local union. Objection to the reception of this evidence because it lacked the connecting proof essential in conspiracy cases and because of the impossibility of controverting it was overruled by the court. This ruling was in my judgment erroneous and should be if adhered to by this and other courts challenged in the appellate courts.

However, as I have stated, the big question in the case being the jurisdictional one, my chief attention was directed in the trial to making the record as clear of extraneous matters as possible upon this issue. With this end in view I succeeded in obtaining admissions in the cross-examination of the chief officials and superintendents of the plaintiffs' factories that there was no interference with the importation of raw material into the factories and with the shipment of such of the raw material as was converted into the manufactured products from the factories to the freight depots and from thence out of the state into interstate commerce, and that there was no attempt to interfere with their delivery or sale at the point of their destination outside of the state.

The plaintiffs were by reason of these admissions obliged to rely upon the fact that they had received interstate orders from customers outside the state which they were prevented from fulfilling because of the alleged threats and intimidation of the defendants in preventing them from securing the necessary help to manufacture the products called for by these orders. The case was therefore shorn of all extraneous features so that the issue as far as the jurisdictional point was concerned was exclusively confined to the fact that the plaintiffs had such orders from outside customers and were unable to fill them by reason of interference at their factories alone and with the process of manufacture by the defendants.

This presented a clear-cut issue which would either carry federal control into state authority to extents never contemplated or dreamed of by framers of the constitution and which if legally upheld by the courts should be promptly checked by congressional or state action as a result of same or in which a final judicial determination of the question should be secured in which certain and definite limits should be established for all time to the insidious creep of the wave of federal authority not only in cases of local strikes, but where the state in the exercise of its sovereign authority undertook to tax articles in their raw or manufactured state lying in the factories or premises within the boundaries of the state.

This involved a question of the most far-reaching importance in the preservation or destruction of state rights, and its just and proper determi-

nation became a matter of the utmost importance not alone to members of labor unions who would be immediately and directly affected by it, but to every citizen of every state in the union who would be taxed to supply the deficiency caused by an exemption from taxation of raw material or products subject to interstate orders, and the courts of whose states might in a large measure be deprived of the jurisdiction of cases which rightfully belonged to them.

On the trial of the case before Hon. C. B. Faris, district judge, and on the submission of the brief to him, I am glad to say that he sustained my view of the jurisdictional question in the opinion which he rendered. He said:

If the matter were one of first impression in this circuit, I would feel constrained to agree with counsel for defendants and to hold that the well-settled definition touching when interstate commerce begins ought to be applied to that term as used in the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

but he added that:

Regardless of any personal views or convictions which I may hold upon the subject, it is my duty to defer to and follow what I am forced to consider the view taken by the Court of Appeals of the Eighth Circuit in the case of *Dowd vs. United Mine Workers of America et al.*, 148 C. C. A., 495 1. c. 51. (Coronado case.)

The statements in the Dowd case referring to this point were in the nature of obiter dictum, nevertheless in following the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit in the Dowd case which indicated views upon this particular point antagonistic to those which I had pressed upon him and which were opposed to his own opinion on the subject, he was adhering to the strict line of his duty in feeling himself bound by and following the decision of the Court of Appeals which is the immediate appellate court in all cases within his jurisdiction. It is but fair therefore to state that the decision of the United States Supreme Court in reversing the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit in this case, while in a sense a reversal of the decree of injunction rendered by the trial judge was in agreement with the views that he expressed in his opinion and therefore in that sense not a reversal but rather an affirmance of his opinion. The decree rendered by the United States District Court against the union and its members provided that the case should be referred to a special master therein named with directions to him to make an inquiry into the damages of the complainants and report same to the court with a view to the rendition of a judgment against the union and its members for the amount so found.

The damages claimed by the employers at the trial were in excess of one hundred thousand dollars, so that not only did the decree of injunction which was of a very stringent character practically leave the defendants at the mercy of their employers and to a large extent disrupted the local union, but it would have mulcted the defendants in an enormous judgment which would have entailed the probable loss of many of their homes, and prevented them from holding any real estate in their names. As a proof that this powerful weapon of offense would not and did not remain idle in the hands of the employers, I was informed by one of the officials of the union that one of their

members was cautioned by his employer to quit the union or he would lose his home which he had purchased a short time before.

The appeal and its successful termination averted these calamities.

The decree of injunction having been rendered against the local union and the rest of the defendants by the judge of the district court, as before stated, an appeal was duly made and perfected by the defendants to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit. Briefs were duly filed on behalf of both parties and in addition to the plaintiffs the local and national manufacturers' association were represented by attorneys in the argument before the Circuit Court of Appeals. I represented the defendants.

The case was submitted to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and a decision was rendered by that court affirming the decree of injunction rendered by the lower court against the defendants. This opinion was written by the Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, Hon. Walter H. Sanborn, and was concurred in by District Judge Munger. There was a dissenting opinion filed in the case by Circuit Judge Hon. Kimbrough H. Stone.

The majority opinion in this case, strikingly incisive and plausible as it undoubtedly is, illustrates the trend of that class of judicial mind which is ultra-conservative and reactionary in controversies between capital and labor and which is predisposed to view with strong disfavor all resorts to the drastic remedy of the strike from the standpoint of the active interference with production or with the rights or convenience of the public and the resultant economic loss thereby entailed, and to lose sight of or disregard the fundamental rights which the Constitution of the United States secures to every American citizen and which it is not only his right but his imperative duty to assert when necessary for the protection of himself and of those dependent upon him.

The majority opinion, which is somewhat lengthy, may be summarized into the following conclusions:

(1) That interstate commerce comprehends not only the securing of orders for goods but every initiatory, negotiating and intervening act of the parties to that trade or deal from the time it begins until the transportation and delivery have been completed.

(2) That a conspiracy or combination to obstruct or prevent the manufacture of articles of commerce which the makers in the usual course of their business manufacture on orders from customers in other states of which they have contracts to make and ship in interstate commerce is within the ban of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

(3) That a conspiracy in which persons engaged and the result of which necessarily operates to restrain interstate commerce makes these persons chargeable with intending that result.

(4) That such a conspiracy may be lawfully enjoined by the federal courts.

To support these conclusions the majority opinion holds that the contracts of the plaintiffs with customers outside of the State of Missouri were contracts and transactions in interstate commerce and that all the steps

intervening between and inclusive of the ordering, the manufacturing, the final delivery and the receipt of the goods in outside states were steps within the interstate commerce laws and to such an extent as that the interfering with the selling, the making, the packing, loading, shipping or either of them was a violation of the interstate commerce act which would give the courts of the United States jurisdiction in every case regardless of whether the parties to the suit on either side were citizens or corporations of the same state; that the plaintiffs had established for years a continuously flowing current of interstate commerce which amounted to more than \$2,500,000 annually and which was interrupted by the active hindrance of the defendants; that although there was no evidence in the case that the defendants directly intended to interfere with or to prevent the interstate shipments of the plaintiffs yet by interfering with the process of manufacture which the court held they did that the necessary effect of such acts was to prevent the shipments and that the defendants were bound by the effects of those acts which the court found they perpetrated; that the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of the United Mine Workers of America et al., *vs.* Coronado Coal Company et al., 42 Sup. Rep., 570 (Coronado case) so far from being antagonistic to these views actually affirmed them; that neither the defendants nor the State of Missouri—in the exercise of its taxing power—could attempt any domination over the raw material in the factories of the plaintiffs or interfere with it in any way because the plaintiffs intended when that raw material was manufactured to ship the product in interstate commerce in filling the orders which the plaintiffs had previously obtained from outside customers; that even admitting that no express direct intention was shown in the case on the part of the defendants to interfere with the plaintiffs' interstate commerce business, that the necessary effects of their acts in interfering with the process of production at the factories was to prevent that commerce and because of that fact they would not be permitted to deny the necessary effect of these acts—a finding which we may parenthetically observe not only brought the defendants within the jurisdiction of the United States courts but practically stripped them of almost every available defense and shifted the burden of proving the conspiracy upon the plaintiffs to the defendants in a quasi-criminal proceeding, in which on the most elementary principles of criminal jurisprudence they were entitled to the presumption of innocence until that presumption was removed by proof of their guilt.

This decision struck not only at the constitutional rights of the defendants but at the very foundation of the rights of the states to the exercise of the police powers inherent in them and which they have never surrendered to the national government, and took from the state courts the jurisdiction in injunction cases and transferred it bodily to the United States courts until even hardly a vestige of state police powers and state jurisdiction in this class of cases was left.

A large number of cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, such as *Rearick vs. Pa.*, 203 U. S., 507; *United States vs. Swift Packing Co. et al.*, 196 U. S., 398; *Addyston Pipe and Steel Company vs. United*

States, 175 U. S., 211; The Debs case, 158 U. S., 564; Northern Securities case, 193 U. S., 197; Coronado Coal Company case, *supra*, and others were cited in support of the views of the majority opinion of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

The minority opinion in this important case was written by the Hon. Kimbrough H. Stone, Circuit Judge of the Eighth Circuit and some of the Hon. Wm. Joel Stone, deceased, formerly United States Senator from Missouri. It is probably the ablest, the best-reasoned, and certainly the most striking and emphatic protest against federal encroachment upon the rights of the state and its citizens as illustrated in the majority opinion in the federal jurisprudence. Judge Stone strenuously maintained that the decision of the majority of his court was in conflict with the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which he exhaustively reviewed from the Knight case, 156 U. S., 118, down to the Coronado case, *supra*. He vigorously asserted that if the constitutional provisions were not borne in mind in applying in a practical way the doctrine that men who do acts are presumed to intend the natural consequences thereof.

that the entire police powers of the state were in danger of absorption by the national government.

With bold and striking emphasis he asserts:

That the natural, logical, and inevitable result of the majority opinion in the Leather Workers' Case would be that every strike in any industry or even in a single factory will be within the Sherman Act and subject to federal jurisdiction, provided any appreciable amount of its product enters into interstate commerce.

One of the highest tributes ever paid by the Supreme Court of the United States to the views of a dissenting judge and to the learning, breadth of vision and perspicuity of this able and distinguished jurist is that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, speaking for the majority of its members, cited with express approval these conclusions of Judge Stone as the inevitable effect of the majority opinion of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals if it were held to be the law.

After the overruling of the petition for rehearing an appeal was taken by the defendants to the Supreme Court of the United States. After the perfecting of the appeal the baggage manufacturers' association, whose headquarters are in Chicago and of which all the plaintiffs are members, one of them being a member of the executive committee of that organization, sent out letters to their members all over the United States asking for assistance in the case, and in these letters the following significant statements appear:

The Luggage Manufacturers of St. Louis in their troubles with their help were granted a permanent injunction by the Federal Court. This injunction has been appealed on two points, but there is very little likelihood that the appeal will be allowed. All interested parties feel convinced that the injunction will stand.

This injunction is so vital that the Federation of Labor has put themselves back of the appeals with a heavy appropriation to make the fight. This injunction

on itself having been secured in a Federal Court makes it a national institution and beneficial to all luggage manufacturers wherever located.

We are assisting St. Louis in bearing the expenses incurred by the appeals, but because of the national aspect of the case, we feel that contributions should come from all interested parties.

In addition to the local attorney who tried the case several prominent attorneys in various parts of the country were retained by the baggage manufacturers and the national manufacturers' association to fight the case.

In the briefs prepared by me I endeavored to analyze the various United States Supreme court cases cited in the majority opinion in support of the views there contained with the object of showing that the doctrines of those cases were misinterpreted and misapplied. This contention was expressly upheld in the opinion of the Supreme Court.

The case was orally argued before the Supreme Court by the attorneys on both sides and submitted in May, 1924, and on the following June 9th of that year the opinion of the court was rendered by Chief Justice Taft and concurred in by five of the judges, Justices McKenna, Vandevanter and Butler dissenting. The Supreme Court reversed the Court of Appeals and the decree rendered by the District Court.

In the statement of the case the fact was stressed by Chief Justice Taft that there was no evidence to show that the complainants were obstructed by the strike or strikers in shipping to other states the products that they had ready to ship or in their receipts of materials from other states, and while the bill averred a boycott against the complainants that there was no evidence whatever that such a boycott was instituted against the sale of complainants' products in other states or anywhere to interfere with its interstate shipments. The sole question in the case was stated by the Chief Justice to be:

Whether a strike against manufacturers by their employees, intended by the strikers to prevent, through illegal picketing and intimidation, continued manufacture, and having such effect, was a conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce under the Anti-Trust Act because such products when made were, to the knowledge of the strikers, to be shipped in interstate commerce to fill orders given and accepted by would-be purchasers in other states, in the absence of evidence that the strikers interfered or attempted to interfere with the free transport and delivery of the products when manufactured from the factories to their destination in other states, or with their sale in those states.

The Chief Justice then said that this question was answered in the negative by the Supreme Court in the *Coronado* case. After citing the conclusions of law in that case the opinion discussed the cases cited in the majority opinion of the Court of Appeals, which included the *Rearick vs. Pennsylvania*, *Brennan vs. Titusville*, *Robbins vs. Shelby Taxing District* cases, where the subject matter was stated to be contracts or sales proposed or made for deliveries of goods in interstate commerce and which the states attempted to illegally tax and significantly added:

It is a far cry from such cases to a strike to induce employers to make better terms with their employees when no interference with the transportation or future sales of the goods by the strikers is attempted or shown.

The Chief Justice further states that the Circuit Court of Appeals found

justification for its conclusions in the Eureka Pipe Line Company *vs.* Hallanan, Dahnke-Walker Milling Company *vs.* Dondurant, and the Lemke *vs.* Farmers Grain Company cases, and said that those cases presented the practical conception of interstate commerce elaborated in the Swift & Company *vs.* United States case, 196 U. S., 375, as a flowing stream created by a course of business to be protected against state invasion, and significantly added:

But it must be a real and direct invasion and not something incidental and remote.

and after discussing the conclusions of the Supreme Court said:

None of these cases, although they all illustrate the practical conception of interstate commerce as a flowing stream from one state to another formed by a regular course of business, can properly be said to support the argument that mere intentional cutting down of manufacture or production is a direct restraint of commerce.

My main contention in the brief and oral argument was that to bring the leather workers' case within the Sherman act so as to give jurisdiction to the United States court that the conspiracy should be alleged and proved to have for its direct object the obstruction or prevention of the interstate commerce of the complainants. This contention was upheld by the Supreme Court in its analysis of the Swift & Company *vs.* United States, Addyston Pipe Company *vs.* United States, Hopkins *vs.* United States and United States *vs.* E. C. Knight cases, but more particularly in the noted case of Lowe *vs.* Lawler, 208 U. S., 274 (Danbury Hatters' case), in discussing which the Chief Justice said:

Members of labor unions having a controversy with their employers sought to embarrass the sales by their employers of the product of their manufacture in other states by boycott and otherwise. They were held guilty of a conspiracy against interstate commerce because of their palpable intent to achieve their purpose by direct obstruction of that commerce.

The Chief Justice then reviewed the important cases of Stafford *vs.* Wallace, 258 U. S., 495, and Chicago Board of Trade *vs.* Olsen, 262 U. S., 1; United States *vs.* Patten, 226 U. S., 525, and Ware Leland *vs.* Mobile County, 209 U. S., 405, all of which were cited in support of their conclusions in the majority opinion of the Court of Appeals, and the Chief Justice added:

This review of the cases makes it clear that the mere reduction in the supply of an article to be shipped in interstate commerce by the illegal or tortious prevention of its manufacture is ordinarily an indirect and remote obstruction to that commerce.

and

It is only when the intent or necessary effect upon such commerce in the article is to enable those preventing the manufacture to monopolize the supply, control, its price or discriminate as between its would-be purchasers, that the unlawful interference with its manufacture can be said directly to burden interstate commerce.

It is not conceivable that the necessary effect of any strike upon interstate commerce by preventing or obstructing its manufacture will be to monopolize the supply, control the price, or discriminate as between would be purchasers which are the jurisdictional essentials in the Sherman Act

as declared by the court in this case, and I feel justified in expanding this conclusion by the assertion that barring a direct interference with the shipment of the goods in their course of transit outside the state or a boycott or a prevention of their sale outside the state lines, employers can not now resort to the federal court for injunctions in local disputes with their employees in cases where no diversity of citizenship exists. This view I think is abundantly justified by the language of the Supreme Court in this case which I can not too strongly emphasize because of its manifest importance to the responsible heads of unions in the conduct of strikes:

The record is entirely without evidence or circumstances to show that the defendants in their conspiracy to deprive the complainants of their workers were thus directing their scheme against interstate commerce. It is true that they were, in this labor controversy, hoping that the loss of business in selling goods would furnish a motive to the complainants to yield to demands in respect to the terms of employment; but *they did nothing which in any way directly interfered with the interstate transportation or sales of the complainants' product.*

The final and finishing blow to this and all future attempts to open up the gates of the federal courts to employers resorting to injunction proceedings against their employees is contained in the concluding words of Chief Justice Taft in this case:

We concur with the dissenting judge in the Circuit Court of Appeals when, in speaking of the conclusion of the majority, he said: "The natural, logical, and inevitable result will be that every strike in any industry or even in a single factory will be within the Sherman Act and subject to federal jurisdiction, provided any appreciable amount of its product enters into interstate commerce."

While it is true that there were some features in this case more particularly on the jurisdictional question similar to the Coronado Case, I think the opinion in the leather workers' case in addition to expressly affirming the finding of the Supreme Court in the Coronado Case that the conspiracy was not mainly directed against unlawful interference with interstate commerce, valuable as that undoubtedly is, had made it impossible for the conclusions of the Supreme Court in the Coronado Case to be logically misapplied or misinterpreted by the inferior appellate and trial courts, and the distinction between federal and state control in conspiracies alleged to violate the interstate commerce laws, particularly in strike cases, has been clarified to an extent far beyond that contained in any prior decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in which that issue was involved; that it will be impossible for employers upon the allegation of the possession of interstate orders for their goods—which was not in the Coronado Case—and an interference with the process of manufacture in the filling of the same, where the dispute is entirely of a local character, to any longer file injunction proceedings in the federal courts and they must resort for their remedy to the state courts alone, and that such interference to give jurisdiction to the United States courts must include not the manufacture alone but the delivery as well and that all local strikes are now relegated to the courts of the states where they can be determined by the judges directly responsible to the people of the state and where they properly belong.

I might add in addition to this that while in the Coronado Case the Supreme Court bewailed the fact that because of the violence which it found had taken place in that case they could not give the plaintiffs the relief sought and remanded the case for a further trial, the Supreme Court found nothing in the strikers' conduct in the leather workers' case to expressly condemn and reversed the judgment of the lower court outright.

In conclusion I would add that the opinion in this case is in its brevity, clarity, scope directness and far-reaching effect one of the most admirable and important, as well as ablest, in the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

FOUND WANTING!



EDITORIALS

By
SAMUEL GOMPERS

In the July issue of *Law and Labor*, the publication of the League for Industrial Rights, appears an article entitled "What Does the Average Workman Believe About Injunctions?" This article only intensifies the feeling that in discussing injunctions, employers eagerly and wilfully misinterpret the thought and judgment of the American labor movement upon this subject.

Labor is not opposed to injunctions, per se. It recognizes the injunction as a legitimate arm of the law when applied in the only lawful way in which it may be applied. Injunctions from their inception have been held to apply only when there was a danger to property rights. A property right must be involved.

In the platform demands submitted by the American Federation of Labor to the two major political parties appears the following: "Perversion of the injunctive process to apply to personal relations in industrial disputes must be prohibited and equity procedure returned to its beneficent service in protection of property."

Labor is not property. The Clayton Act says so. At the present time this act, especially that portion of it calling for jury trial in cases of contempt of court, is receiving the attention of the Supreme Court in the case of *Sandefur vs. Canoe Creek Coal Co.*, which was certified to it from the Circuit Court of Appeals of the sixth circuit. This case was argued some time ago and is now under advisement by the court.

The average workman opposes injunctions as applied in industrial disputes because they primarily deprive the workers of trial by jury. The federal constitution guarantees a trial by jury in criminal cases. So do the constitutions of the states. Yet by virtue of these injunctions the constitutional right is swept away. This is the meat in the cocoanut.

The dissenting opinion of Judge Minturn in the case of *Balk Co-op. Co. vs. Fur Workers*, 123 Atlantic, 290 et. sec., is recommended for the careful consideration of *Law and Labor*. The following language is worthy of attention:

Yet it should not be overlooked that, by sustaining them (the convictions) as a result of a trial without jury in a criminal case, and where in the language of Judge Garrison in the Staley case the trial court enjoys the unique distinction of being both "judge, jury and accuser as well," we are by our affirmative determination shortening the social political and civil lives of these defendants to the extent of their prison sentence.

In this case an injunction had been obtained and the defendants were held in contempt because of an assault upon some workers. Judge Minturn concludes with the following language: "Upon these grounds I shall vote to reverse in both cases, with the observation that manifestly the time is not unpropitious for legislative intervention providing for the application, in the first instance, of the ordinary constitutional and legal procedure of

trial by jury in this class of cases." The entire opinion of Judge Minturn can be had in Bulletin No. 4 of the Legal Information Bureau of the American Federation of Labor on page 15, and is commended to the careful consideration of those interested in this class of cases.

If a striker is held to have disobeyed an injunction, say in an assault case, he should clearly have the right to be tried by a jury. But by the perverted use of the injunction, this is denied him. And then again, too many courts have been too willing to restrain strikers from doing almost everything, except perhaps breathing the God given air, and submitting to the demands of vicious employers, more intent upon dividends than upon the rights of themselves or their employes.

Most injunctions, if not all, dealing with industrial disputes, seek to deprive workers of their constitutional rights, especially the right of a trial by jury. We again insist that in the decisions of the courts themselves, under almost identical facts, the courts have made rulings in favor of the employers, and then have denied the workers the same ruling.

Some pertinent truths, which ought to interest even the reactionary members of the League for Industrial Rights, were made in a speech by Senator George Wharton Pepper, before the American Bar Association in Philadelphia, recently. The Senator pointed out, as many others have done, that "under such a system of government as ours the maintenance of well nigh universal confidence in the judiciary is pretty nearly essential to national safety."

How interesting in view of that remark, and in view of such expressions as those quoted from *Law and Labor*, is the following interrogation put by the Senator to his audience of lawyers:

To maintain such confidence must we not confine the courts to the sphere in which the creators of our constitutional system intended them to live and move and have their being?

Senator Pepper addressed the lawyers on the eve of their departure for England, where they will attend a special meeting of the Bar Association. He offered to them a suggestion of great value.

"I suggest in particular," he said, "that while abroad you note with care the attitude of the English people toward organized labor. I do not mean the mental or emotional reactions of selected individuals, but the sentiment of the community as expressed in legislation and in legal policy."

It is to be hoped that the members of the American Bar Association will follow the suggestion. The Senator did not leave entirely to the imagination the things which he desired the lawyers to observe in England.

"I suggest," he said, "that it is in this connection that you will find an instructive contrast between the English industrial situation and ours. If you read the Trades Disputes Act you will find in section 2 a definite statutory declaration of the legality of some of the very things from which the striking shopmen were enjoined eighteen months ago by the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois. This means that in England picketing has been recognized as inevitable class self-

protection, while with us it is still treated as a preventable offense against the rules of industrial war."

Injunctions were discussed at considerable length by Senator Pepper and he pointed out that since the issuance of the first injunction in the United States these judicial decrees had become much more comprehensive, culminating in the injunction secured by former Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty against the striking railroad shopmen.

"To the striker," the Senator said, "it seems like tyranny to find such vast power exercised, not by a jury of one's neighbors, but by a single official who is not elected, but appointed, and whose commission comes from distant and little understood sources."

The Senator's language was mild, as senatorial language finds it necessary to be upon occasion. The exercise of such vast power by an appointed judge not only seems like tyranny, but it actually is tyranny, and undoubtedly Senator Pepper is fully aware of the actuality.

The trade union movement in its constant warfare against the injunction as used in industrial disputes, is conducting much more than a defensive struggle. It is attempting by every fair means to restore the judiciary to its proper and constitutional sphere as a means of safeguard for all of the people—liberties which are essential to the perpetuity of the republic.

It is not to be expected that such bourbon publications as *Law and Labor* and such thoroughly reactionary organizations as the League for Industrial Rights can ever understand the principle involved. They are interested purely and solely in selfish interests which can not be served except through the sacrifice of the great masses of the people. The great masses themselves, however, are coming rapidly to understand, and the day is near at hand when they will deliver themselves from the thoroughly monarchistic tyranny of the courts.

Real cooperation between farmers and wage earners is not helped by the multitudinous fiascos in the field of so-called farmer-labor political effort. There is a great and growing community of interest between the tillers of the soil and the wage earners of the cities, but that interest is not going to be served by the soap-box brigade that peddles its nostrums from almost every corner in these parlous times.

THE LESSON
ST. PAUL
TAUGHT

As producers farmers and wage earners stand in precisely the same position. As consumers they also stand in the same position.

If these two different types of producers do not produce the same things, neither do bricklayers and street carmen. Yet bricklayers and street car men find their essential interests identical and they join continuously in joint and helpful effort. So do textile workers and structural iron workers. As useful members of the great national community they have large common interests—the interests of those who work and serve usefully.

The farmers' identity of interest with all others who serve usefully is just as clear and inescapable.

It is not contended that there is a distinct proletarian interest among

these workers, because that is not the case. The moment that claim enters the situation becomes beclouded and all manner of false conclusions and actions result.

In the great democracy of America there is no division along distinctly proletarian or class lines, either in politics or industry. There is a distinction between the useful and the useless, those who serve and those who are purely parasitic. That is quite different from a distinction along proletarian lines, the latter being one of the bogeys of the ridiculous communist propaganda.

The convention held in St. Paul on June 17 was an example of the kind of fraudulent "farmer-labor" pyrotechnics that hamper true cooperation between farmers and wage earners because they tend to create misunderstanding on the one hand and to create suspicion on the other hand.

Who can be seriously blamed if, after such a spectacle as that in St. Paul, he concludes that talk of farmer-labor cooperation is futile or worse?

The kind of cooperation that American farmers and American wage earners want is the kind that leads to constructive betterment of American life for the masses of the American people.

As one disillusioned delegate at St. Paul put it, what is wanted is to purge the structure, not to destroy it.

The St. Paul convention declared itself for "a workers' and farmers' government," which would mean an end of democracy in America.

Of course the Reds set up the shout that we have always had "a Wall Street government" and upon that assertion they partly rest their claim that it is right to get the other kind if they can.

The argument is specious in the extreme. Granted that Wall Street has exercised a powerful and at times dominating influence upon American national government, there never has been any real bar to an ousting of that government, or to popular influence upon that government, or to a voice for anybody who could make himself heard—and it has never been a Wall Street government in the sense that the Communists demand "a workers and farmers' government."

The machinery of democracy in political life has been and is available to the people and they may take advantage of it as they choose and as they are able to unite on a program of action.

What the St. Paul platform proposes is a capture of the government and its subsequent destruction. A so-called workers and farmers' government means a government by those two groups alone, to the exclusion of all others—a class government instead of a democratic government.

Those who went to St. Paul sincere in the conviction that something could be accomplished in conformity with American institutions and for the betterment of the masses of the people must have been bitterly disappointed. They have lost the energy which they there expended and no doubt they have been weakened in their energy for constructive work along more normal and natural lines.

Every such misadventure as the St. Paul convention is damaging to the cause of farmer-labor cooperation and democratic progress.

Some Americans are slow to learn the true meaning and purpose of the

communist propaganda. They are slow to believe that "dictatorship of the proletariat" means what it seems to mean. They are slow to believe that real destruction of democracy is intended. They are slow to believe that the communist machine is just as sinister as it seems to be, that it is in every country a part of an international organization dedicated to the destruction of democracy everywhere.

The communists lied before the St. Paul convention and they continued to lie during the convention. They lied as to their intentions and as to their delegate strength in the convention. That is their custom and those who know their ways expect nothing else. They are committed to the destruction of democracy by *any* method and if lying helps it is the duty of a good communist to lie, just as it is to disrupt bona fide labor unions and bona fide political movements. "The end justifies the means" is the first verse of the first chapter of the communist bible.

The St. Paul convention has come and gone. Like every other move on the part of the communists, it has taught its lesson for those who are willing to learn.

William Z. Foster, in betraying the political organization formed in the convention held in St. Paul beginning June 17, 1924, has run true to form. After having engineered the appointment of a committee empowered to dethrone the convention's presidential and vice-presidential nominees, Foster has ordered and secured their dethronement and has proclaimed his own candidacy for the presidency on the Workers' Party ticket as a substitute. Running with him as candidate for vice-president is Benjamin Gitlow, of New York, one of the principal spokes in the communist wheel.

When the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST in its issue for July pointed out the menace of third party organizations and the futility of such organizations, it was particularly with the developments in St. Paul in mind. It was not expected that such complete justification would follow so rapidly.

It was the aim of Foster from the beginning to bring under communist domination by means of the St. Paul convention as many dissentient groups as possible. The betrayal of those groups was planned long in advance and it was probably even hoped by Foster, whose egotism and ambition know no bounds, to draw LaFollette into the net, in order that he too might be betrayed. The sound Americanism of the Wisconsin senator and his thorough understanding of the communist philosophy, as well as the communist political tactics, easily saved him from the snare into which so many others fell headlong.

Prior to the holding of the St. Paul convention and following the denunciation of that convention by the American Federation of Labor, the communists and their friends were most voluble in proclaiming that the convention was not to be controlled by the communists, but that, on the contrary, the communists were an all but helpless minority group. Mr. William Mahoney, of St. Paul, who stood in the public eye as the principal organizer

AND OUT
JUMPED
THE DEVIL

of the St. Paul convention, joined in the protestations of communist innocence and lack of power. Those observers who had watched the development of the St. Paul convention from the start and who knew the ways of the communist propagandists were not taken in by the claim that the communists were mere babes in the woods. They and we knew better.

It was the purpose of the communists from the start to do precisely what has been done at St. Paul and subsequently. If there is anything to be wondered at at all, it is that the final move was made so brazenly and with such complete lack of political finesse and diplomacy.

Mr. Mahoney, chief organizer of the St. Paul meeting and staunch in the belief that the real progressives would control the convention; that the communists would be in an insignificant minority, after the trick and device of Foster in forcing out the candidates nominated at the convention and substituting Foster and Gitlow, explains in a statement recently given to the press how he and his associates were tricked. After declaring that Foster "has betrayed the convention," Mr. Mahoney said:

Base misrepresentation is being attempted when the Executive Committee of the National Farmer-Labor Party tries to give the impression that the party as formed in St. Paul will support Foster and Gitlow.

In endorsing Foster and Gitlow, Mr. Mahoney said, the "committee acted entirely outside any authority granted it by the St. Paul convention, and represents no one but itself."

I am delighted in one way at the manner in which the situation has been clarified by this development," he added. "It puts the Communists into an unmistakable party of their own and will eliminate all misunderstandings as to their connection with any other party.

Ia Follette will get the support of all Farmer-Labor elements in the Northwest, I am confident. No attempt to make it appear that the St. Paul convention would stand for another candidate opposing Ia Follette can be successful.

Mr. Duncan McDonald, who accepted the presidential nomination at St. Paul, has been cast into the discard with as little compunction as the dog wagon discards its fugitive canines into the pound. He was picked up to serve a passing purpose and as readily thrown down when the purpose was served. It is no more to his credit that he must have played his role of servility in complete willingness and understanding.

Those who were foolish enough to go to St. Paul in the belief that they were participating in a genuine American political movement for the relief of farmers and wage earners should by this time be thoroughly disillusioned. There remain, however, for them as individuals possibilities for constructive effort in the future. Because of the blunder they need not remain politically helpless or politically outcast. There is sufficient room in the present campaign and with the present alignment of individuals and organizations politically to use their suffrage to the advantage of the wage earners and the farmers, and it should be the purpose of every individual to see that that is done.

It is to be hoped that the communists in America, under the leadership of Foster and under the final domination and dictation of the communist general staff in Moscow, will no longer deceive Americans either in their political activity or in their industrial activity.

A point of view in regard to the eighteenth amendment which has long been understood by organized labor has been presented to the public from an entirely different direction in the *New York Times*, by Mr. Archibald E. Stevenson, a New York lawyer and publicist.

**THE DRIFT TO
CENTRALIZATION**

Because of the fact that the Congressional interpretation of the eighteenth amendment is a current political issue, and because of the further fact that the principle contained in the eighteenth amendment itself will long remain a subject of political discussion, it is exceedingly worth while to consider the point which Mr. Stevenson raises in relation to the principle involved.

As an authority on constitutional law, as well as an authority upon the genesis and development of the American constitution, Mr. Stevenson ranks high. His views are bound to be worthy of serious consideration. The point which he raises in connection with the eighteenth amendment has nothing to do with the question of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as such. It is because he sees in the eighteenth amendment a distinct departure from the original intent of the United States constitution and a revival of the hated "taxation without representation," which is merely another method of confiscation without representation, that Mr. Stevenson raises his objection. He points to the deepseated passion for local autonomy that has been inherent in Americans from the very beginning of American history and to the successful efforts to secure protection in the constitution against the onslaughts of those in the constitutional convention who favored a strong centralized federal government.

The great menace of the eighteenth amendment is its abrogation of local autonomy and its tremendous contribution to the development of centralized authority.

If the eighteenth amendment fits admirably into other plans for the destruction of local autonomy, and even representative government itself, it may have been no part of the scheming of those who engineered the adoption of the eighteenth amendment, but it is a fact which nevertheless thoughtful Americans ought to consider.

The eighteenth amendment, as labor pointed out at the time of its adoption, was the first amendment to the constitution to express the "Verboten" idea in that document. Every other provision is a guarantee instead of a denial. The eighteenth amendment was the first amendment to bring into operation the police powers of the nation to forbid something. It was clearly a departure, not only from the general fundamental character of the constitution, but from its every provision and detail. It represented a definite turning of the corner and a definite facing in a new direction.

The argument which Mr. Stevenson presents is so important and yet so concise as to be possible of reproduction here. It is an argument which ought to be made familiar to every trade unionist and to every person who believes in fundamental democracy. What Mr. Stevenson had to say in his excellent article here follows:

It is extremely unfortunate that in all discussions relating to the Eighteenth Amendment the controversy invariably centers about the issues raised by prohibition. This

is the least significant phase of the subject. The amendment is much more far-reaching in its effect than its authors intended or the public now realizes. It has radically altered the relations previously existing between the states. It has placed the territorial integrity and the reserve powers of each state at the complete mercy of two-thirds of the states. In effect, it is a precedent which authorizes two-thirds of the states to destroy completely state sovereignty. In this respect it strikes at the very foundation of our political system and imperils national unity and national permanence.

The Government of the United States has been a curious blending of local and national sovereignties. "It is itself a commonwealth," said James Bryce, "as well as a union of commonwealths, because it claims directly the obedience of every citizen and acts immediately upon him through its courts and executive officers. Still less are its minor communities, the states, mere subdivisions of the union, mere creatures of the national Government, like the counties of England or the departments of France. They have over their citizens an authority which is their own and not delegated by the central Government. They have not been called into being by that Government. They—that is, the older ones among them—existed before it. They could exist without it." (Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, Vol. 1., pp. 16-17.)

This unique system of independent yet concurrent jurisdictions has enabled our Government to function successfully in spite of the vast area of its territory and the many divergent and conflicting interests of our people. The exclusive jurisdiction which the states reserved over purely state matters has made it possible for their people to entrust the national authority with jurisdiction over matters affecting the interests of the people as a whole. If the states were reduced to mere departments of the Federal Government, our political system would lack its present elasticity, which prevents sharp conflict between sectional interests. The destruction of the old provinces of France and the creation of new departments in the early days of the French Revolution contributed more than anything else to subject the French people to the rule of a small faction in Paris.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in holding the Eighteenth Amendment valid, has sustained a precedent which seems to empower two-thirds of the states to effect this fundamental change in our system over the protest of the remaining states. State sovereignty however, limited it may be, can exist only so long as the state preserves the right to tax its citizens. The right to tax necessarily involves the right to determine what is property, its mode and means of transfer. By adopting the Federal Constitution the States voluntarily surrendered a portion of this right to the Federal Government in certain clearly defined fields, but reserved to themselves exclusive jurisdiction in intra-state matters. Deprived of this reserved power, state sovereignty must wither and disappear. The Eighteenth Amendment, by forcibly depriving a state of its right to raise its revenue from certain property, clearly establishes the principle that two-thirds of the states by limiting the taxing powers of the minority may extinguish their sovereignty.

It may be urged that the union, by abolishing slavery in the South, established a similar precedent. The circumstances surrounding that action were wholly different from those under present consideration. What a conqueror can do to the vanquished is very different from what is to be expected between frank and loyal co-partners. Sustaining the Eighteenth Amendment ignores the clear intent of the people of the several states in adopting our national Constitution. To understand this, it will be helpful to review briefly the facts which preceded and followed the establishment of our present form of government.

Prior to the American Revolution the sovereignty of the colonies resided in the British Crown. With the Declaration of Independence it devolved upon the people of the several colonies, which thereupon became independent sovereign states. These sovereignties, for their mutual accommodation and defense, entered into a permanent alliance under the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union of 1781. But their status as independent states was not thereby materially altered. The need of a stronger central government was speedily manifest. This resulted in the call of the Constitutional

Convention of 1787. The Constitution of the United States, which was the fruit of that convention, was a skillful compromise between the opinions of those who wished to perpetuate state sovereignty and those who believed in the creation of a strong central authority. The Constitution created a new sovereignty in the form of a national government, to which the states delegated a specific portion of their own sovereignty.

It must be remembered that the main principle for which the War of Independence was fought was the right of local autonomy. In consequence, there was a powerful sentiment among the people, even among those who approved of the Constitution, to preserve inviolable the reserved powers of the states. In the Constitution as originally presented Article 5 provided means by which the instrument could be amended. Its phrasing has not been altered. It apparently authorized the amendment of the Constitution to any extent through action by two-thirds of the states. It contains but one reservation now applicable, i. e., "No state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

Upon the presentation of this document to the state conventions fear was expressed that its adoption as it then stood would open the door to the annihilation of the states. So strong was this sentiment that two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, refused to approve the instrument, and in five states it was adopted only upon the promise of its immediate amendment. Amendments to add a bill of rights to the Constitution were offered in the first Congress, and the first ten were speedily adopted. The most vital of these was the Tenth Amendment, which reads as follows: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." By this it was intended to preserve the status quo, the states thereby indicating that they did not intend to suffer any further diminution of their sovereignty.

As if to emphasize still further the intention of the people to preserve the residue state sovereignty, the Eleventh Amendment was added to the Constitution as a guide to its interpretation.

It will thus be seen that the authors of the Eighteenth Amendment, in attempting to effect a salutary reform, have adopted a method subversive of the fundamental principles of our political system.

That there are strong forces in the United States which, confident of their power, are seeking continuously to strengthen the central government and particularly the executive branch of the central government, is an open secret to all who observe carefully and with some understanding. It is not without purpose that there has been within the last two years a consistently growing attack on the United States Congress. It would be wrong to say that this attack has been intensified in proportion as Congress has become more responsive to the popular will, because the intensity of the attack has grown even more rapidly than has the responsiveness of Congress to the people. The present Congress has been much more energetic in the protection and promotion of the public welfare than its predecessor and the attack has been doubly vicious.

The onslaught has not been one directed against members of Congress, but it has been directed against Congress as a branch of the government. Moreover, it has been more than a mere attack, because it has been also, to a large extent, a demand for enlarged executive powers as a means of curbing and restricting the powers and opportunities of the people through Congress. This thought has found emphatic expression in the platform of one of the major political parties. Whether it is true, or not, representatives of Wall Street have stated that they are satisfied with the candidates of that party, because they believe them strong enough to carry forward the

assumption of executive power and the limitation of congressional power.

The trend of effort on the part of the plutocratic power popularly referred to as Wall Street, is unquestionably entirely in harmony with the purpose of the eighteenth amendment, as pointed out by Mr. Stevenson and the basic principle embodied in that amendment will no doubt be used whenever possible and in so far as possible, to deprive people of rights and liberties in no way connected with the rights and liberties intended to be dealt with in the amendment itself.

Terence V. Powderly, once a figure known throughout the country as the grand master workman of the Knights of Labor, recently passed away at his home in Washington. For many years Mr. Powderly had been employed in the United States Department of Labor, where he served with faithfulness and credit.

**THE PASSING OF
A SPLENDID MAN**

During these years his relations with the American Federation of Labor and his eagerness to serve and support the A. F. of L. were among the characteristics which most marked his work.

Before the American Federation of Labor entered the field and while the Knights of Labor were coming to their fleeting height of power, T. V. Powderly was a commanding and dramatic figure. If the order was builded along lines that could not be permanent and helped to bring into being a structure that was bound to collapse of its own weight, because of its own false foundation, that was not because of Powderly's lack of devotion to the cause of the wage earners. He gave his services with a zeal and self-sacrifice characteristic of his whole life and with the sincerity of everything he undertook.

As militant as any human being could be in the struggles in behalf of labor, he was in his personal relations a man of magnetic and kindly personality, thoroughly admired and loved by those who knew him. Many of the pioneers in labor's struggle and many of those who participated in the formation of the A. F. of L. will mourn sincerely the passing of T. V. Powderly. That the movement to which he gave his great effort was not a movement which could withstand the test of time detracts in no wise from the service which he sought to give.

Don't forget that organization increases wages and shortens the working day, making work steadier.

Don't condemn the Labor movement because you know of "objectionable features." Every man and every institution has some imperfections.

No man can produce great things who is not thoroughly sincere in dealing with himself.—*James Russell Lowell.*

A great man is made up of qualities that meet or make great occasions.—*James Russell Lowell.*

Book Reviews

TWO LABOR BOOKS

WORKERS' EDUCATION YEAR BOOK 1924. The initial volume of this character published by the Workers' Education Bureau, New York City.

Part one contains an exposition of the aims of workers' education; part two reports the third national convention of the Workers' Education Bureau; part three contains a directory of trade union colleges, study classes, education committees, and all organizations affiliated to the W. E. B. There is a bibliography on workers' education and a list of publications of the Bureau. A valuable reference book.

THE SIGNALMAN AND HIS WORK, by Kenneth L. Van Auken. Published under direction of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

This text-book prepared for the members of the Brotherhood represents a most significant understanding of the educational functions of the union. This book represents a type of workers' education that is commended to the consideration of all trade unionists.

THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, by Frederic J. Haskin. Published by the Author, Washington, D. C., 1923.

The revised edition of Mr. Haskin's book on "The American Government" undertakes to give an authentic and up-to-date account of the origin, functions, and administration of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the Government of the United States, together with such independent offices as the Interstate Commerce Commission, Civil Service Commission, Federal Trade Commission, etc. There are also chapters on woman suffrage, prohibition, and the American Red Cross.

The value of the book is marred by misleading implications in connection with statements of fact, and by a species of propaganda expressed through the medium of the author's personal opinion relative to controversial questions. These two blemishes stand out in the chapter on "The Supreme Court." The author declares that the court is "possessed of powers which enable it to pass on the constitutionality of the acts of the President, Congress, and the States. . . ." The fact of the possession of the power to pass on the constitutionality of acts of Congress is admitted. But the government of the United States is a government of delegated powers. Therefore, the clear implication carried with the word "possessed" is that the power to veto acts of Congress is conferred on the Supreme Court by the Constitution. It is apparent, even to superficial students, that the Constitution confers no such power. It is equally apparent that the Supreme Court's possession of this power is due to the fact that the court has arrogated

to itself an authority not delegated to it by the fundamental law. Accuracy would make the text of Mr. Haskin's book read something like this: Although the Constitution does not confer on the Supreme Court the power to pass upon the constitutional validity of Acts of Congress, the court, in an opinion written by Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, declared that it has the power regardless of the Constitution, and since Justice Marshall's opinion the Supreme Court has exercised the veto power over Acts of Congress despite emphatic protests from many citizens.

Inaccuracy and the injection of propaganda on controversial questions are revealed in the author's reference to the movement to curtail the exercise of this extra-constitutional power by the Supreme Court. He says: "Recently it has been suggested that the Constitution be amended to provide that none but unanimous or two-thirds majority decisions shall set aside acts of Congress, but it is doubtful that such an amendment will be adopted for many years, if at all." This statement is inaccurate through the omission of the fact that the American Federation of Labor proposes that the Constitution shall be amended to positively confer on Congress the power to re-enact by a two-thirds vote any law declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court or any interpretation asserting a public policy at variance with the statutory declaration of Congress. That portion of the statement expressing doubt as to the adoption of the amendment is uncalled for in a reference book of facts and is clearly in the nature of propaganda against a movement to make the Supreme Court subject to the fundamental principles of representative government.

It is stated on the title page that "before publication every chapter of this book was read and approved by Government authority." The book would be more authoritative (and instructive) if the author had included a list of the authorities. It would be interesting to know what "government authority" approved the first quoted statement relative to the possession of the veto power exercised by the Supreme Court.

It is also pointed out that the book is a "standard textbook in schools" and is "constantly used as an authoritative reference in libraries." It is evident that the patrons of our schools and libraries will not secure an accurate account of the Supreme Court's relation to acts of Congress from the 1923 revision of Mr. Haskin's book.

With certain inaccuracies such as the ones indicated corrected, "The American Government" would measure up more nearly to the standard demanded by the subject matter.

COOPERATIVE MARKETING; THE GOLDEN RULE IN AGRICULTURE, by Herman Steen, with an introduction by Samuel R. Guard, New York. Doubleday, Page and Company.

Records the progress of cooperative marketing by giving the history of more than one hundred of the outstanding market associations in the United States and Canada. Farmers' elevators, grain marketing, pooling farm products, non-stock and non-profit cooperative systems and democratic control are discussed. Endorsed by the American Farm Bureau Federation.



The Spirit of Pioneering

Impatience with present facilities, a restless searching for perfect things—these have driven men to discovery and invention. They possessed the early voyagers who turned their backs on the security of home to test opportunity in an unknown land. They explain the march westward that resulted in this settled, united country. And they have inspired the activities of the Bell System since the invention of the telephone.

The history of the Bell System records impatience with anything less than the best known way of doing a job. It records a steady and continuous search to find an even better way. In every department of telephone activity improvement has been the goal—new methods of construction and operation, refinements in

equipment, discoveries in science that might aid in advancing the telephone art. Always the road has been kept open for an unhampered and economic development of the telephone.

Increased capacity for service has been the result. Instead of rudimentary telephones connecting two rooms in 1876, to-day finds 15,000,000 telephones serving a whole people. Instead of speech through a partition, there is speech across a continent. Instead of a few subscribers who regarded the telephone as an uncertain toy, a nation recognizes it as a vital force in the business of living.

Thus has the Bell System set its own high standards of service. By to-day's striving it is still seeking to make possible the greater service of to-morrow.

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES
BELL SYSTEM**

One Policy, One System, Universal Service



THE PRICE OF COAL, by Anne Bezanson and Others. Philadelphia American Academy of Political and Social Science.

A collection of monographs on the coal question by 36 economists and others who have made special studies of certain phases of the subject. The collection makes up Volume 111 of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. General subjects discussed are: Wages, hours and working conditions in the bituminous and anthracite coal fields; labor relations in coal mining; costs and margin in producing and distributing coal; efficiency and cost reduction in coal mining; fuel economy and giant power, and some steps on the way out. Representatives of the United Mine Workers of America contribute to the symposium.

YEAR BOOK (1923) OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE. Washington. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Annual report of the officers of the endowment and the directors of the various divisions. The treasurer's report includes a list of the assets of the endowment, which consist mainly of \$10,000,000 of United States Steel Corporation five per cent gold bonds. The endowment is at present primarily engaged in preparing an elaborate economic and social history of the world war, with James T. Shotwell, as general editor.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND A PARLIAMENT OF INDUSTRY; A STUDY OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, by Herman Finer. London, Fabian Society.

Article 165 of the German Constitution adopted in 1919 makes provision for a "Federal Economic Council" to which "all bills of fundamental importance dealing with matters of social and economic legislation shall, before being introduced, be submitted by the Government" for the "opinion" of the Council. Article 165 also makes provision for district economic councils and district workers' councils to function in connection with the Federal Council. The Federal Economic Council was finally created by a government decree issued on May 4, 1920. The Council consists of 326 members representing the various occupations and other interested groups. Mr. Finer gives the history of the development of the Federal Economic Council idea in Germany, with an account of its activities and achievements and its relationship to the Reichstag.

THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, 1923-24, by Solon DeLeon and Nathan Fine. New York, Rand School of Social Science.

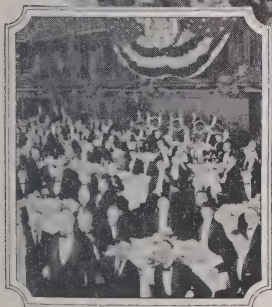
Undertakes to review the labor movement for 1923 under the following heads: Industrial and social conditions, trade union organization, labor disputes, labor politics, labor legislation, court decisions affecting labor, civil liberties, workers' education, labor banking, international labor relations, cooperation, trade unionism and labor political movements abroad, and cooperation abroad. Contains an international directory of labor unions, labor and socialist political organizations, workers' educational movement, and cooperative organizations. In its account of the 1923 convention of the American Federation of Labor the year book fails to mention the convention's outstanding declaration for industrial democracy and overlooks the A. F. of L.'s advocacy and support of consumers' cooperation on the Rochdale plan.

—and everybody there heard every word!

NOT a miracle, but simply the everyday performance of the Western Electric Public Address System. This remarkable equipment amplifies and distributes sound so that an audience of a few hundred in a hall to a crowd numbering in the hundreds of thousands can hear with perfect ease.

The Public Address System is a development of the telephone art. The microphone which catches the speaker's voice, the horns which you see above his head, and the amplifying and control equipment which are concealed—these are all products of the same skilled design and careful workmanship which made your telephone. And like the telephone, this apparatus is complex in construction but extremely simple to use.

You may be interested in further information on the Public Address System, its great usefulness in school auditorium, in church, in hotel, in theatre. If so, write for a booklet to the Western Electric Company, 195 Broadway, New York City.



The Hotel Astor, New York, one of many hotels which give Public Address service; to their banquet patrons.



Western Electric

SINCE 1869 MAKERS OF ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT

Avenues of Information

THE American Engineering Standards Committee has developed a method of work which assures responsibility and adequate avenues of information. The committees formulating codes are composed of representatives designated by cooperating organizations interested and sponsored by the organization most vitally concerned. Organized labor is accorded representatives on these committees.

The A. E. S. C., appreciative of the importance of the human element in industry, has supplemented technical codes by safety codes. The Federal Department of Labor recently published among its bulletins three safety codes developed under the auspices of the committee. They are:

Bulletin No. 336: Safety Code for the Protection of Industrial Workers in Foundries. John P. Frey of Iron Molders' Union served on Draft Committee.

Bulletin No. 338: Safety Code for the Use, Care and Protection of abrasive wheels. P. J. Conlon, International Association of Machinists and George J. Speidel, Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers, served on Draft Committee.

Bulletin No. 357: Safety Code for the Construction, Care and Use of ladders. John Donlin, President Building Trades Department, served on this committee.

The department also published a lighting code prepared and issued by the Illuminating Engineering Society. As this organization proceeding under different rules from the A. E. S. C., no representative of organized labor served on its committee. The code is of value for legislative standards and for factory inspectors and public service commissions as well as workers seeking to improve conditions under which they work. It may be procured under the following title:

Bulletin No. 331: Code of Lighting. Factories, Mills and other work places.

National Safety Code for the Protection of Heads and Eyes of Industrial Workers—Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce.

All these bulletins will be of value to individual workers, business agents, other union officials, especially those charged with formulations of policies and work standards. All may be purchased from the Government Printing Office.

Recommended Minimum Requirements for Plumbing in Dwellings and Similar Buildings—Bureau of Standards—Depart-

ment of Commerce. (Elimination of waste series).

W. J. Spencer represented labor on the draft committee. A technical report of particular value to plumbers and of interest to others in the construction industry. In addition to the plumbing code there are reports in experimental investigations. Mr. Spencer filed a minority report on the section opposing separate renting.

Trade and Industrial Education. Bulletin 17. Trade and Industrial Education series 1.

Organization and administration of all day schools, part-time schools, evening schools and teaching training discussed with reference to the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Discussion of relations between federal board and local educational enterprises. Of special interest to all labor committees on education.

Legal restrictions on Hours of Work in the U. S. National Industrial Conference Board. Research Report 68:

A study of the outstanding developments in social legislation in the various states with analytical tables.

A study of sickness in South Carolina Mill Communities. Public Health Report June 13, 1924, U. S. Public Health Service

A follow-up study which confirms conclusion of 1916 study "That a very definite relation exists between family income and the rate for prevalence of sickness." Percentage of illness for the longer periods of duration increases as income decreases.

Labor Terminology Bulletin No. 25 Harvard—Bureau of Business Research

An attempt to promote uniformity in the use of terms recurring in adjusting labor relations. Standardizations prevents disputes arising from differing interpretations of terms.

Freedom of Association and Trade Unions—by Jean Nicod. International Labor Review, April, 1924.

A rapid introductory survey of the legal status of trade unions in the principal industrial countries.

Hours of Work and Output by Otto Lipmann, International Labour Review

A scientific study based upon production records. Emphasizes the maintenance of the working capacity of the "living equipment of the factory as an economic necessity to the community and an important factor in the profits of the undertaking.

Question of a weekly stoppage in Glasgow Works using Tank Furnaces. International Labor Review, April, 1924.

Night work in bakeries—International Labor Review, April, 1924.

WHAT OUR ORGANIZERS ARE DOING

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC

FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS.

Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

W. O. Murphy.—We have 39 local unions with 2,300 members. There has been one death with an expenditure of \$1,000. Conditions are fair and improving.

Laundry Workers' International Union.

Harry L. Morrison.—We have 74 local unions with a total membership of 5,500. Two locals have been added during the month with 67 new members with a loss of one local and 21 members. These new locals have been formed in Oakland, Calif., and Lethbridge, Canada. Conditions are fair. Our local in San Francisco has signed a new agreement calling for \$2 per week increase for both men and women members. Organization work is being carried on in New York City; Oakland, Calif., and Everett, Wash.

International Association of Siderographers.

Joseph L. Heffern.—We have three local unions with a total membership of 80.

United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

Edwin Gentsler.—We have 12 local unions with 312 members. One death occurred during the month with an expenditure of \$200. Old lockout of 1921 still in effect at 15 shops in the states of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. One shop of the open shops dismantled and one firm has gone into bankruptcy during the past two months. Conditions are stationary. We are working under a three-year agreement which has 25 months more duration. We have put Brother Charles Alexander as a new organizer on the job and contemplate pushing general organization work or reorganization work in the open shop districts.

FROM DISTRICT, STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZERS.

ARKANSAS

Hot Springs.—William Fred Rose:

A new highway is being built which will employ common labor. No industries here have written union agreements. They are only verbal.

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach.—T. H. Norris:

General depression in business has forced reduction in help affecting all lines. Numbers of cafes

and merchants have closed since last report. The general financial depression and slacking up of business as foretold in our Labor News a year ago, resulting from the insane boosting of open shoppers and real estate sharks is upon us and we warn all workers to give this section of the country a wide berth unless they bring along sufficient money to keep them for a year at least, otherwise they will become the prey of cheap wage employers, and probably return much sadder and wiser people to the places from whence they came.

Richmond.—Jules Scarceriaux:

The Sanitary Manufacturing Company, makers of bathtubs, has laid off 150 workers. The firm has installed machinery which does away with moulders.

San Francisco.—John O. Walsh:

Through arbitration the laundry workers secured a \$2 per week increase in wages and a two-year agreement. Stove and machine foundries, boiler shops, and lumber yards are the chief industries. None have union agreements. The stevedores and railroad employees have "company unions." The *Daily News*, an afternoon paper, gives very fair labor news. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union labels and very good results are achieved. The shop reports are read every two weeks.

COLORADO

Denver.—Earl R. Hoage:

Bakers' Union No. 26 has increased wages \$2 per week. Brewery workers have renewed their old agreement for one year. The Burlington shops have closed for 30 days, laying off 1,500 men. The building contractors have hired additional workers. The city council has created 90 new paving districts. The Colorado State Federation of Labor held its 29th annual convention at Pueblo June 2, 3, 4, and 5. It was one of the most constructive conventions ever held in Colorado. Plans were devised to make the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, now having a circulation of over 10,000 a week among union labor in Colorado, a state-wide publication. We are showing all union labels, cards, and buttons at meetings of the trade union promotional league. The demand for label goods is increasing. Ten retail stores have straw hats in stock bearing the union label of the United Hatters. Label agitation being pushed to the limit. Barbers at Walsenburg are being organized. Coal miners in the southern district are joining the United Mine Workers. A meat cutters' local recently signed up one of the largest markets in the city and gained 25 new members. We are preparing for a gigantic Labor Day parade in Denver.

CONNECTICUT

Noank.—W. H. Wolverton:

About 200 workers have been laid off by the New London Ship and Engine Company.

INSIST on WAN-ETA Chocolate Bars and WAN-ETA Cocoa.*Made Under the Most Sanitary Conditions.***MASSACHUSETTS CHOCOLATE COMPANY
BOSTON, MASS.****FLORIDA***Orlando.*—W. E. Crawford.

Carpenters have secured an improvement in conditions and wages during the past month, having received an increase from 75 cents to 90 cents per hour and shorter hours. Several building contractors have laid off help. The plumbers have union agreements here. Fruit growing, truck farming, and building trades are the chief industries. Union members are carrying on constant agitation to increase the demand for union label goods. The musicians have received their charter.

Tampa.—A. B. Grout:

Through arbitration the painters received an increase in wages from 80 cents to \$1 per hour. A new *Tribune* building, 12 stories in height, is being erected by non-union labor.

GEORGIA*Macon.*—William A. McKenna:

The chief industries here are textiles, railroading, farming, and hardwood plants. The Central Georgia Railroad Company has "company unions" in mechanical trades and clerks. A committee is constantly agitating for union label goods.

ILLINOIS.*East St. Louis.*—C. J. Hayes:

Railway telegraphers received 5 cents per hour increase through the railway labor board. This affects 120 men.

Litchfield.—Henry D. Felix:

The Litchfield Foundry and Machine Company has laid off about 75 workers. The Litchfield Water Works has opened up work on the dam, but all help is being shipped in from out of town at 35 and 40 cents an hour. It was promised that it would be a union job and nearly every union man bought a \$50 or \$100 bond and the carpenters' local union took out \$600 worth of bonds and then the work was all turned over to outsiders. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

West Frankfort.—F. J. Rauback:

Mechanics' local, after 30 days' strike, secured 10 per cent increase in wages and their present A-1 conditions retained. This city is undergoing one of the worst depressions in years, every craft being affected. Three of the eight large production mines in this city are closed down with the balance working from one to three days per week. At the present time the Union Label League is raising funds to place a worker in the field to make a house to house canvass to promote the sale of union label goods.

INDIANA*Elkhart.*—G. C. McLaughlin:

The central body is carrying on a campaign to raise the extremely low wage level paid common labor in this locality. Forty cents an hour and the 10-hour day prevails. The New York Central Railroad Company are laying off strikers. Other shops are reducing hours. No plants have closed down entirely, but the majority have shortened the working week. Union label literature is being distributed to promote the demand for union label goods. Retail clerks are in process of organization.

Elkhart.—I. O. Stephic:

There are no unions in the factories and conditions are bad. Men are still being laid off and shorter hours have been put into effect for those who remain. Building trades is the only industry employing additional men. All the railroad shops have "company unions." Constant agitation is carried on to promote the demand for union label goods. Retail clerks and plasterers are in process of organization.

Kokomo.—C. E. Musselman.

The Haynes and Apperson auto shops and many others have laid off 90 per cent of their entire force. No plants have closed down entirely. Public improvements are the only new work being carried on.

IOWA*Des Moines.*—W. B. Hammil:

Conditions of employment are not very good here. The Ford Motor Company has laid off 400 in the past month. The Rollins Hosiery Company are working only four days a week. The City Railway has attempted several times to organize a "company union." Agitation is being carried on through the local labor paper and through the union label committee to increase the demand for union label goods.

Newton.—Fred Parker.

The building trades are busy here, but all factories are laying off workers.

KENTUCKY*Central City.*—Otto Anderson:

About 10,000 coal miners are on strike. The Illinois Central Railroad and the States Corporation have laid off men. Conditions are very bad here at this time. All the shop crafts of the Illinois Central Railroad and the Cumberland Telephone Company have "company unions." Engineers, firemen, conductors, and flagmen on the I. C. and L. & N. railroads have union agreements. The business men in town have organized a board of trade of their own. Union label goods are being demanded by all union men in this part of the country.

MAINE

Woodland.—F. D. Johnson:
Conditions remain the same here. We are making arrangements for a big Labor Day celebration. Good work is being carried on in support of the union label.

MASSACHUSETTS

Quincy.—James F. Edwards:
From 50 to 100 stonecutters and quarry workers have been laid off and some plants are working only three days a week. Work in the building trades is opening up. Most all industries here have union agreements.

MINNESOTA

Hibbing.—P. A. Davis:
The mines here have laid off 1,500 miners and some have closed down completely. During the past month the chauffeurs have organized.

St. Paul.—Frank Fisher:
There is no work at all here in the building industry. Men in all trades are idle with no prospects of any work in the immediate future and the writer advises all men to refrain from going to St. Paul now.

MISSOURI

St. Louis.—Robert Lyons:
Several hundred employes have been laid off in St. Joseph by the meat packing houses and tablet factories. A small amount of building construction is going on, but the building trades are very quiet. The restaurant employers have formed an association to combat the Chinese and Greeks. The writer just organized a culinary local in Sioux City, Iowa. The organization committee held a meeting and will start this week to organize the teamsters. In St. Joseph the writer organized two culinary locals, a label league, and a woman's label league. Hundreds of workers are traveling east and the same numbers going west, each expecting to find better conditions.

NEW YORK

Corning.—C. E. Olinger:
Between 300 and 400 workers have been laid off from the glass works and the railroad shops. The New York Central Railroad shops have closed down. Construction work has opened up on the state road. A union label campaign is being carried on to promote the demand for label goods.

Plattsburgh.—B. S. Morrill:
Normal conditions prevail here.

NEVADA

Reno.—Leonard Newstead:
Some of the shops in Sparks have laid off workers. Calpine has put on a 10-hour night shift in the sawmill, and extra men have been hired in a few lumber camps. Everything is quiet on account of the stock disease in California and the big industries are not hiring help from Reno as is usual this time of year. It is thought they are afraid of the I. W. W. getting a foothold here after having been driven from California. The Labor Council and State Federation are agitating for the use of the union label goods.

Save the surface and
you save all—*Paint & Varnish*



Spare the paint and you spoil the house

Keep your home in good condition with Dutch Boy white-lead. Mixed with pure linseed oil, it forms a long-lasting protection against sun, rain, and snow.

This standard paint ingredient used by skilled painters everywhere is the most economical by the square foot, by the year, and by the job. It is easy to apply, brushes out smoothly, and does not chip or scale.

NATIONAL LEAD COMPANY

New York, 111 Broadway; Boston, 131 State St.; Buffalo, 116 Oak St.; Chicago, 900 West 18th St.; Cincinnati, 659 Freeman Ave.; Cleveland, 820 West Superior Ave.; St. Louis, 722 Chestnut St.; San Francisco, 485 California St.; Pittsburgh, National Lead & Oil Co. of Pa., 316 Fourth Ave.; Philadelphia, John T. Lewis & Bros. Co., 437 Chestnut St.

OHIO

Byesville.—C. H. Grabham:
Miners, glass workers, potters, and railroad shopmen have been laid off, about 30 per cent in each industry. One pottery and six mines have completely closed down. A campaign is now in progress to further the interest of union made goods.

Elyria.—Charles H. Kopp:
Better hours have been secured in the steel plants and National Tube Company. Workers have been laid off by the Perry Fay Company, Western Automatic Company, Elyria Iron and Stove Company and Columbia Steel Company. Most of the plants are working only four days a week. The only new work is in the building trades. A union label committee of six members of the Central Labor Union are checking up business places to find out the demand for union label goods. Results pending.

Hamilton.—Stanley Ogg:
There has been improvement in conditions of the building trades during the past month. The Ford plant is working short hours and has laid off employees. Road paving and bridge repair work is the only new work that has opened up. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods through the Central Body.

Loram.—Howard J. Cobb:
The American Ship Building Company has closed down and there is a general slacking off in all industries. About 15 per cent of the workers have been



Save ~~24~~ Green Stamps and you Save Money! Thousands of home makers will tell you this is true.

The Sperry & Hutchinson Co.
New York City

laid off. No new work is being carried on except public improvements. We have no "company unions" here. Constant agitation is being carried on to promote the demand for union label goods and good results are being achieved.

Youngstown.—Ernest Broerle

There have been improvements in working conditions during the past month in the building trades and bakery workers. Practically all the sheet mills have laid off 50 per cent of their workers. The Sheet and Tube Company have a "company union" which only exists on paper. In the last meeting of the Central Body a committee was appointed to find ways and means of increasing the demand for union labels. Working conditions in this community are not favorable for organizing work.

Zanesville.—Jos. A. Baver

Potteries and other plants here have laid off workers. The Tube Works and the Roseville Pottery have closed down. Considerable work is being carried on in the building trades. Agitation is being carried on constantly to increase the demand for union label goods and good results are achieved.

OKLAHOMA

Tulsa.—Ben James:

There has been a decided slump in all lines of industry, particularly in the building crafts. There is no noticeable lay off in any plant, but the oil operation will shut down at once laying off approximately 5,000. The usual work is being carried on to promote the demand for union labels.

PENNSYLVANIA

Ephrata.—H. M. Good.

The chief industries here are farming and cigar-making with the chain of trust factories in 15 towns employing about 1,700 cigarmakers who work in cigar factories 10 hours a day under non-union conditions. Cigarmakers have four local unions within a distance of seven miles with a membership of 134 in all unions. No other crafts are organized. During the past two months the writer has created a demand for union made goods which is growing rapidly. Now there is to be found union made cigars, hats, shoes, shirts, and other articles union made in all stores. Label committees are on the job and unionism is being discussed in the shops and the cigarmakers' union has doubled in membership. Two new unions of cigarmakers are about to be organized. The writer is also working on the or-

ganization of journeymen barbers in the surrounding towns and the work looks very encouraging.

TEXAS.

Corpus Christi.—C. N. Idar:

Dredging for deep water will soon start in this section and organized labor should come early here to promote the firm establishment of the trade union movement. The carpenter's union with cooperation of their international representative, U. S. Berry, and the writer are developing considerable interest in support and promotion of organized labor. The Corpus Cristi Trades Council has been organized during the past month and the writer is trying to organize locals of auto mechanics and cooks and waiters.

Orange.—E. L. Spaugh:

Additional workers have been employed by the car and steel plants. Oil field workers have been laid off. Union labels are being displayed in all the stores.

Sherman.—R. E. Paschull:

Conditions here remain the same. Railroad companies here have "company unions." A newly organized label league is just getting started.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Huron.—E. L. Gordon:

All branches of railroad crafts have laid off workers. There is additional work in the building crafts owing to the destructive storms and some highway construction has opened up. Eighty-one per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture. In this state there are but 125 locals, most of which are railroad crafts. There are union label leagues organized in Huron, Aberdeen, and Sioux Falls.

Mitchell.—A. J. Church:

Switchmen and round house men have been laid off by the railroads. Farming and railroading are the chief industries in this locality. A stronger interest has been taken in the union label since our Central Body has become organized.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown.—A. D. Lavinder:

Retail stores here have decreased working hours for the summer and are now closing at 5 o'clock. This improvement in conditions was brought about by the clerks' union. The glass factories at Morgantown are to close for the summer, starting July 1, affecting 400 workers. The Stadium Corporation of Building Trades have hired additional workers. This firm is an open shop outfit and violates the law of West Virginia by working longer than eight hours per day. Some mines have closed down here. They are partly organized. The glass workers have union agreements. The New York Foundation Construction Company are open shopping the state work. The Morgantown editor of the *Post* refused to carry article of the state violation on Stadium job. The label league is in process of reorganization. All union workers are demanding the label on goods. The Brady Warner Coal Company got an injunction against the miners' organization. The clerks have reorganized and the butcher workers and meat cutters have organized a local union.



EMPIRE

Empire Petroleum Products

GASOLINE

NAPHTHA

KEROSENE

GAS OIL

FUEL OIL

ROAD OIL

ABSORPTION OIL

NEUTRAL OILS

RED OIL

CYLINDER STOCKS

PARAFFIN OILS

PARAFFIN WAX

Write for Prices

EMPIRE REFINERIES, Inc.

SUBSIDIARY CITIES SERVICE COMPANY

GENERAL SALES OFFICE — TULSA, OKLA.

The New "Sun" Engine!

Arrangements have been made with Wm. Doxford & Sons, Ltd., Sunderland, England, for the development, plans and patents they have covering Doxford engines. The Doxford plans and patents together with the Junker patents will be used by the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company for the manufacture of Doxford engines in America.

Motorships "Yngaren" and "Dominion" with Doxford engines are giving very finest results in durability, continuous running, and remarkable fuel economy.

SUN SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK CO.

Chester, Penna.

New York Office

Philadelphia Office

25 Broadway

Finance Building

1843 EIGHTY-ONE YEARS OF HONORABLE SERVICE 1924

DIAMOND EDGE

TOOLS and CUTLERY SUPREME



**ALWAYS the BEST
Quality is Unequaled
The Mechanic's Choice**

SHAPLEIGH HARDWARE CO.



TRADE MARK REG.
IN U.S. PAT. OFFICE

INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTORS

Established 1843

ST. LOUIS, U. S. A.



TRADE MARK REG.
IN U.S. PAT. OFFICE

"DIAMOND EDGE IS A QUALITY PLEDGE"

SINCLAIR OILS

SINCLAIR REFINING COMPANY

CHICAGO **NEW YORK**

YORK SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY

Safes and Vaults

FACTORY

- - - -

YORK, PA.

Spirella
CORSETS

"The World's Best Corset"—
For Health, Comfort and Style

Hegeman-Harris Company

INCORPORATED

BUILDERS

360 Madison Ave.

New York, N. Y.

Telephone Murray Hill 5362

The Only Safe Water
is a Sterilized Water

Every drop of water used by over
80 million people in North Amer-
ica is sterilized by Liquid Chlorine



WALLACE & TIERNAN
COMPANY, INCORPORATED
Manufacturers of Chlorine Control Apparatus

NEWARK

NEW JERSEY



ARMSTRONG STOCKS AND DIES



HINGED PIPE VISES

PIPE CUTTERS

PIPE MACHINES

STEAM AND GAS FITTERS TOOLS

MANUFACTURED BY

THE ARMSTRONG M'FG CO.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

BUY

U. S. Treasury

Savings Certificates

CENTRAL AGUIRRE SUGAR COMPANY

AGUIRRE, PORTO RICO

PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY

Glass--Mirrors--Paints--Brushes

Warehouses in All Principal Cities

General Office
260 S. Broad St., Philadelphia

J. H. WEAVER & CO.
COAL

Branch Office
25 Broadway, New York

BITUMINOUS

GAS

For Steamships and High-Efficiency Steam Requirements
EXTRA PREPARATION OVER PICKING TABLES

SHIPPING PIERS:
New York—Philadelphia—Baltimore

EXCELLENT QUALITY
FAIRMONT DISTRICT

THE AUSTIN COMPANY
Industrial Engineers and Builders
OFFICES ALL PRINCIPAL CITIES

Sani-Flat
Mooramel
Cement Coating
Impervo Surfacers
White Enamel Underbody

Benjamin Moore & Co.
Paints, Varnishes and Muresco

NEW YORK
CHICAGO
CLEVELAND



ST. LOUIS
CARTERET
TORONTO

Muresco
House Paint
Pure Oil Colors
Japans and Driers
Impervo Varnishes

THE J. G. WHITE ENGINEERING CORPORATION
ENGINEERS—CONSTRUCTORS

43 EXCHANGE PLACE - - NEW YORK

"It is far more economical to pay a few cents more for a good lubricant, than to accept an inferior one as a gift." Do you believe it?

KEYSTONE LUBRICATING COMPANY
Manufacturers and Lubricating Engineers

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

EST. 1884

BUY
U. S. Treasury
Savings Certificates

McClellan & Junkersfeld
Incorporated

Engineering and Construction

Power Developments — Indus-
trial Plants—Examinations—
Reports—Management

68 Trinity Place, NEW YORK
CHICAGO PHILADELPHIA ST. LOUIS

*Quality Lubricants Since 1853***SWAN-FINCH OIL CORPORATION****522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK****Keystone Roofing Manufacturing Company****Asphalt Roofings - Shingles - Waterproof Products
York, Pennsylvania****PEJEPSCOT PAPER COMPANY****MANUFACTURERS OF PULP,
PAPER AND LUMBER**PEJEPSCOT MILL
BOWDOIN MILL
LISBON FALLS MILL
TOPSHAM MILL
GREAT SALMON RIVER MILL
MARTINS HEAD MILL
COOKSHIRE MILL
SAWYERVILLE MILL**OFFICES: BRUNSWICK, MAINE
42 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY****The FIRST NATIONAL****Trademark**stands for the
ultimate in
artistic and
entertaining
pictures. **UNITED STATES SMELTING
Refining and Mining Company****Executive Offices: 55 Congress Street, BOSTON
Sales Office: - 120 Broadway, NEW YORK**BUYERS OF Gold, Silver, Lead, Lead and Zinc Con-
centrating Ores, Matte and Furnace Products
PRODUCERS AND SELLERS OF Gold, Silver, Copper,
Lead, Zinc, Arsenic, Cadmium, Copper Car-
bonate and Sodium Arsenite
REFINERS OF Lead Bullion.**OPERATING OFFICES: Salt Lake City, Utah; Kennett,
Cal.; Goldroad, Ariz.; Baxter Springs, Kan.;
Eureka, Colo., and Pachuca, Mexico.****TEXAS GULF
SULPHUR COMPANY**
*(Incorporated)***41 East 42d Street
NEW YORK****Thermoid
Hydraulic Comp.****100% Brake Lining****THERMOID RUBBER COMPANY
Trenton, N. J.**

PHONE, C. H. 850

O'Neill Company**General Contractors
and Engineers****127 East Mermaid Lane
Chestnut Hill Philadelphia**

BYLLESBY ENGINEERING & MANAGEMENT CORPORATION



208 South La Salle Street
CHICAGO

NEW YORK
SAN DIEGO

BOSTON
TACOMA

TROJAN POWDER COMPANY

Allentown, Pa. San Francisco, Cal.

Manufacturers of

HIGH EXPLOSIVES

For All Kinds of

Quarry Operations Excavating and
Mining Operations Construction Work
Land Clearing Agricultural Purposes

Magazines and Distributing points in all
important consuming localities

Mills at Seiple, Pa.; Robert, Cal.

EPOCH MAKING IMPROVEMENTS

THE interpole construction of electric motors now generally copied and approved by all electrical manufacturers was invented, developed and first manufactured by this company.

BALL BEARING electric motors were first developed and manufactured by this company. What other improvements in motor design during the past twenty years compare with these two achievements?

A. C. or D. C. Motors— $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1,000 H. P.

ELECTRO DYNAMIC COMPANY

BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

Sales Offices in principal cities

BUY THE

History and Ready Reference

Book, Etc., of the

AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR

FRED W. SINCLAIR

ALBERT GRIGG

Sinclair & Grigg *Builders*

Medical Arts Building

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

United Piece Dye Works

*Dyers, Printers and Finishers
in the Piece of*

All Silk Fabrics, Silk and Cotton Mixed
Goods, Silk and Wool, All
Cotton Goods, Etc.

LODI, N. J.

New York Office: - 132 Madison Avenue

Mills: - - - - Lodi & Hawthorne

Wilkes-Barre Lace Mfg. Co.

WILKES-BARRE - PENNA.

Air Compressors, Condensers,
Turbo Blowers, Rock Drilling
Machinery, Oil Engines,
Pneumatic Tools.

Branch Offices and Service Stations
the World Over

Ingersoll-Rand Company

11 Broadway

New York

On the Market
Since 1832

MACK TOOL CO., Inc.



**CARPENTERS' TOOLS
COOPERS' TOOLS
MACHINE KNIVES**

Rochester, N. Y.

THE FOUNDATION COMPANY
ENGINEERING CONSTRUCTION

An Organization of experienced men, equipped with modern plant, prepared to undertake engineering construction anywhere.

120 Liberty Street

City of New York

Offices in Principal Cities

Incorporated \$75,000.00

Telephone Connection

B. E. Grant Company
General Contractors
Trucking—Sand, Gravel and Crushed Stone
OIL DISTRIBUTORS
BOSTON, MASS.

LEDGE
South Huntington Avenue
Boston

STABLES
99 West Cedar Street
Boston

SAND PIT
Medfield, Mass.

Diamond State Fibre Co.

Makers of Hard and Flexible
Vulcanized Fibre Sheets,
Rods, Tubes and Specialties.

BRIDGEPORT

PENNSYLVANIA



KENT-COSTIKYAN

FOUNDED 1886

485 FIFTH AVENUE—SIXTH FLOOR
NEW YORK

Opposite Public Library

IMPORTERS OF ORIENTAL RUGS
SEAMLESS CARPETS IN SOLID COLORS
RUGS WOVEN TO ORDER IN ORIENT

Gasoline
Measuring
Pumps and
Storage
Tanks



Industrial
Oil Storage
and
Handling
Equipment

**GILBERT & BARKER
MANUFACTURING CO.**

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

EVERY day that goes by sees a wider and wider use of

**OXY-ACETYLENE
CUTTING AND WELDING
TORCHES**

in the cutting and welding of steel, wrought iron, cast iron, brass, copper, bronze and everything in metal.

They are valued most wherever they are best known.

OXWELD ACETYLENE CO.
Long Island City, N. Y. Chicago San Francisco

Subscribe to the "American Federationist"

Back to Form

"As Executive Officer and Lieutenant, U. S. Navy, I was relieved from active duty November, 1919. Sick in mind with a pain tortured body—stomach trouble was so acute I couldn't eat or sleep. My aunt recommended a Fleischmann's Yeast Cake dissolved in water, and I took it to please her. The pain ceased. I had slight return attacks for a few weeks, but each time 'little doctor yeast cake' knocked them out.

"I eat anything now and enjoy it, and sleep like a baby. Old navy friends tell me I look like the Athletic Instructor of old."

(A letter from Charles C. Beach of
Baltimore, Md.)

Eat 2 to 3 cakes every day

FLEISCHMANN'S YEAST

At every grocer's.

The Fleischmann Company

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor

CHESTER M. WRIGHT, Assistant Editor

Official Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

1924

Executive Council, A. F. of L.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Second Vice-President.

FRANK DUFFY, Third Vice-President.

WILLIAM GREEN, Fourth Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT, Fifth Vice-President.

JACOB FISCHER, Sixth Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL, Seventh Vice-President.

MARTIN F. RYAN, Eighth Vice-President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Official monthly magazine, devoted to the interests and voicing the demands of the trade union movement.
Published by THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR at 9th St. and Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C.
Correspondents will please address SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor, Washington, D. C.

All communications relating to finances and subscriptions should be addressed to FRANK MORRISON, Secretary
Washington, D. C.

The publisher reserves the right to reject or revoke advertising contracts at any time.

The editor will not be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

The American Federation of Labor is not sponsor for nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Entered at Washington, D. C., post office as second-class matter. Accept for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized July 11, 1918.

Contents for September

Executive Council.....	704
Report and Action on Men and Platforms—Executive Council of American Federation of Labor Adopts Findings of Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.....	705
In the Midst of Battle.....	711
By MATTHEW WOLL	
We Stand on the Threshold of a Wonderful Day!.....	712
By JOHN A. VOLL	
Complete Organization the Goal.....	713
By JOHN L. LEWIS	
Law Alone Can Not Right the World's Great Wrongs.....	714
By G. W. PERKINS	
Control of Our Movement.....	715
By JOHN P. FREY	
Glorious Labor Day.....	717
By WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON	
Labor Day, Past, Present and Future.....	718
By HUGH FRAYNE	
Labor Day in the Mines and Among the Miners.....	720
By WILLIAM GREEN	
Unloose the Bonds! Think!.....	722
By CHARLES P. HOWARD	
A Noble Vision.....	724
By THOMAS F. McMAHON	
Common People Must Save America from Exploiters.....	725
By JAMES W. KLINE	
A Half Century of Effort.....	728
By MICHAEL F. TIGHE	

Contents for September—Continued

Inspiring Achievement.....	729
By GEORGE F. HEDRICK	
Clerks Press Onward.....	730
By E. H. FITZGERALD	
Progress of the Bookbinders.....	731
By WALTER N. REDDICK	
Labor Day!.....	732
By WILLIAM KOHN	
Laborers March On.....	733
By D. D'ALESSANDRO	
The Trade Union Movement in Western Europe.....	734
By L. KRAUSE	
American Labor Leads the World.....	738
By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING	
Labor Day (Poem).....	739
By ED. O'DONNELL	
Cartoon—The Magic Hand of Labor.....	740

EDITORIALS:

By SAMUEL GOMPERS, President American Federation of Labor.

Labor Day, 1924.....	741
We Are in to Win.....	741
World Power Potentialities.....	743
Politicians' Economic Ignorance.....	745
A Wish Father to the Thought.....	747
The U. S. Constitution, Study It.....	748
Sittin' in a Corner.....	750
Mines, Mining and Justice.....	751
Scientific Democratic Progress.....	753

Heading West.....	755
-------------------	-----

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

OFFICIAL:

Political Circular.....	759
Convention Call.....	760

BOOK REVIEWS:

A New Province for Law and Order.....	762
The Labor Theory of Value in Karl Marx.....	762
Taxation, The People's Business.....	762
The New Industrial Era.....	763
Raw Materials and Foodstuffs in the Commercial Policies of Nations.....	763
The Teaching Work of the Church.....	763
Psychology in Business.....	764
Prohibition; Going or Coming.....	764
Mortgages on Homes in the United States.....	764

What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	766
------------------------------------	-----



Why nearly everyone is a Utility Investor

MOST of us, whether we realize it or not, are investors in public utilities—electric light and power, gas and transportation.

Insurance companies, banks and trust estates have invested millions of dollars entrusted to them by the people, in the industry.

7%
on your
savings

All of us who use the service have made an investment in wiring, fixtures, piping, appliances, etc., to make it available.

It is only a step further to direct ownership of the sound securities of these essential public service institutions.

You can own shares in this sound industry and draw quarterly dividends, as more than 2,000,000 people are now doing. The way is open through our monthly saving plan, \$10 down and \$10 monthly per share.

*For latest list of investment opportunities,
call, telephone or write*

UTILITY SECURITIES COMPANY

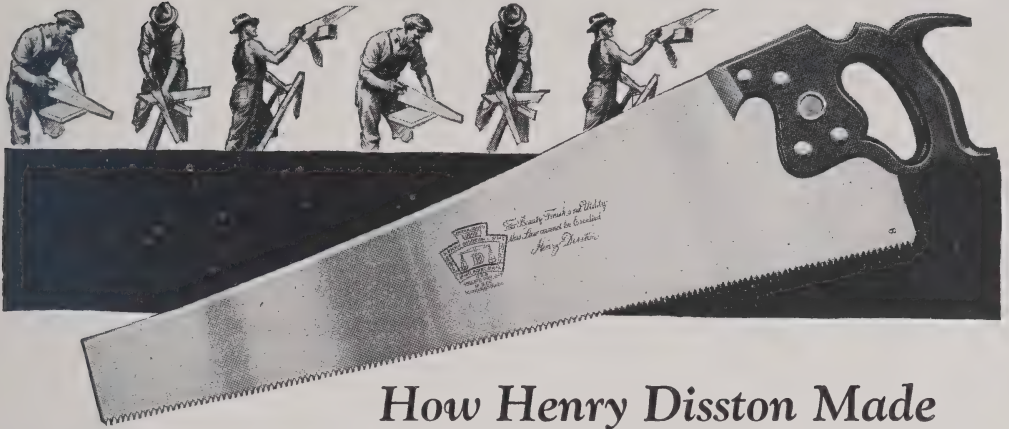
72 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

Telephone Randolph 6262

Milwaukee, Wis.

Louisville, Ky.





How Henry Disston Made “The Saw Most Carpenters Use”

TODAY or tomorrow, perhaps, you will buy a saw. Before you buy any saw, you will want to know the story of “The Saw Most Carpenters Use.”

Among many Disston favorites are these:



Disston D-8. The world's standard for all-around work.



Disston D-115, the finest saw that Disston makes. For those who want the utmost in finish and service.



Disston D-23. For those who want a narrow blade. $1\frac{3}{4}$ " wide at point, $\frac{6}{16}$ " at butt.



Disston No. 12. Extra tempered. Ground one gauge thinner, for special clearance. A favorite straight-back, full-width saw.

Your hardware dealer has the right Disston Saw for your special work.

In 1840 Henry Disston opened his own saw shop, in a cellar in Philadelphia. Carpenters then wanted foreign-made saws. Henry Disston knew he had to make saws better than any ever made before.

He himself, fired his furnace, tempered his saws, smithed, ground, set and filed them.

Around him he gathered men and trained them in his own methods. First he made saws with his own hands; then he made saw makers.

Carpenters—the men who make their living by using saws—told one another to get a saw with Disston's name on it. Before long, even Europe was sending to Disston for saws.

Finer workmanship was impossible, but better steel for saws was possible.

So Disston in 1855 made his own steel—the first crucible saw steel ever made in America.

And Disston Saws of Disston

steel won the world! The Disston Hand Saw is known everywhere as “The Saw Most Carpenters Use.”

Henry Disston's spirit lives on in the Disston Saw Works.

First his sons and then his grandsons served apprenticeships in the shops. They worked side by side with the sons and grandsons of the men who learned saw-making from Henry Disston himself.

The Disstons make saws today after the ideals set by Henry Disston. As long as there is a Disston left, the Disston standard will be maintained.

For the Disston Hand Saw that you buy must run true, cut clean and fast, and stay sharp. It must be made to suit your hand, and balanced right to aid your arm. It must give you a life-time of faithful service.

Ask Disston. Whatever you saw, in wood, metal, bone, fibre, or other material, Disston has the saws for you.

Ask us about them.

HENRY DISSTON & SONS, INC.
Philadelphia, U. S. A.

DISSTON

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

PRODUCERS
REFINERS
DISTRIBUTORS
and MARKETERS

of

PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

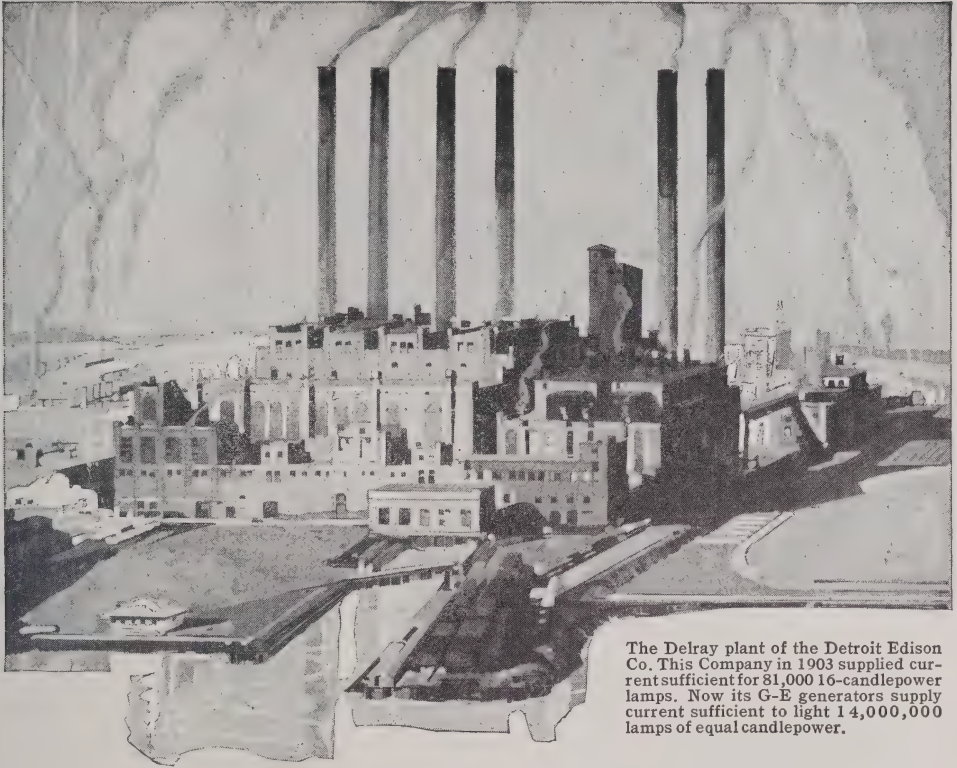
featuring

PAN-AM GASOLINE
LUBRICATING OILS
FUEL OILS and GREASES

*since our organization handles
its products through every stage
of manufacture—from the well
to the consumer—users of its
various products are assured
of uniformly high quality and
continuous supply*

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK



The Delray plant of the Detroit Edison Co. This Company in 1903 supplied current sufficient for 81,000 16-candlepower lamps. Now its G-E generators supply current sufficient to light 14,000,000 lamps of equal candlepower.

Pillars of Progress



You will find this monogram on all types of electrical equipment used by power and light companies. The General Electric Company designs and builds all types of large electrical machinery for the generation, transmission and distribution of electric power.

In 1922 the American people used one billion dollars' worth of electrical energy. And every five years the demand for this energy doubles.

Think what this increasing use of electricity means in brightened homes and in products manufactured. The General Electric Company takes pride in equipping modern electric light and power plants; their chimneys are pillars of progress.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

ATKINS

SILVER STEEL SAWS

**"The Best Saw
Ever Used"**

WE HAVE many letters in our files from carpenters throughout the country who state that Atkins Saws are the best they have ever used and that they will use nothing else.

The Perfection Handle shown on the No. 400 and No. 53 Saws makes hard work easy—it relieves all wrist strain; try it once and be convinced.

Silver Steel, the material used in the blades, is extremely tough, not brittle, still it files readily. Atkins Silver Steel Saws will take a sharp cutting edge and hold it a remarkably long time.

You can get any style Atkins Hand, Rip or Panel Saw you want—straight back, skew back, ship point pattern or regular width pattern. We also make a complete line of small saws such as Compass, Key-hole, Coping, Back, Hack and in fact,

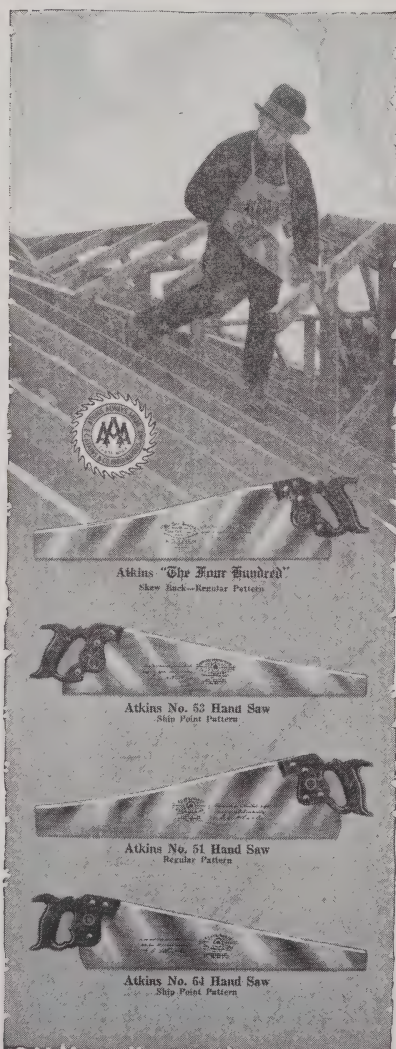
"A Perfect Saw For Every Purpose."

E. C. ATKINS & CO.

Established 1857 THE SILVER STEEL SAW PEOPLE
Home Office and Factory, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
Canadian Factory, Hamilton, Ontario
Machine Knife Factory, Lancaster, N.Y.

Branches Carrying Complete Stock In The
Following Cities:

Atlanta	New Orleans	Seattle
Memphis	New York City	Paris, France
Chicago	Portland, Ore.	Sydney, N. S. W.
Minneapolis	San Francisco	Vancouver, B. C.





Guard Your Mouth

Let WRIGLEY'S be the policeman of your mouth and throat.

It will combat trouble of various kinds. It helps to keep the teeth free from food particles that ferment and cause decay.

It has an antiseptic effect. It relieves acid mouth and thus not only prevents harm to the teeth, but serves to sweeten the stomach, and it aids digestion.

So doctors and dentists say, use

WRIGLEY'S

*after every
meal*

Your choice of several flavors, all of the WRIGLEY quality—sealed in its purity package

Write Wm. Wrigley Jr. Co.,
Chicago, for free sample



**FLAVORED
WITH THE JUICE OF
FRESH MINT
LEAVES**

E18

A Good Reputation

FOR more than half a century the best petroleum products have carried the "Standard" name and trade mark.

Today they are better than ever before.

"Standard" Gasoline in the fuel tank and "Standard" Polarine Oil in the crank case make a working combination that calls upon your car for its very best performance.

Look for the red pump with the Standard Oil Company (N. J.) globe. Every drop of "Standard" Gasoline is carefully prepared to deliver instantaneous power behind the piston.

STANDARD OIL COMPANY
(New Jersey)



A Great Chemical Industry

Which has served America
for more than a century

In 1802 E. I. du Pont de Nemours built the first powder mill on this continent. For more than a century since, Du Pont explosives have aided in the development of America. They have blasted out the ore needed by our great essential industries and the coal that turns the wheels of our thousands of factories and mills. They have hewn paths through forest and mountain for our railroads and highways. They have cleared and drained fertile lands which have made the country richer in farm produce. They have protected the nation in every one of her wars. Without explosives the hands of industry in this country would be tied and commercial progress would be impossible.

In its natural growth the Du Pont Company has widened its field through the manufacture of many other materials which, although diversified in their character and their uses, are made from the same basic chemicals which are used in the manufacture of explosives.

Today the Du Pont Company is not only America's first and largest manufacturer of explosives, but is one of America's greatest chemical industries.

The Du Pont Company is now supplying and safeguarding our textile, leather and paper industries with essential American dyes, products formerly made only in foreign countries. It is providing other chemical compounds to hundreds of manufacturers in almost every other line of business.

Ivory Pyralin toilet articles, which are so popular, Pyralin Sheeting used in automobile windows, and hundreds of articles and novelties are made from pyroxylin, a material whose ingredients are similar to those of gun cotton.

Fabrikoid, used extensively for upholstery, bookbinding, automobile tops, luggage and a wide variety of other articles, is made by coating tough cotton cloth with a pyroxylin solution.

The manufacture of Du Pont paints and varnish products is also distinctly a chemical industry, using many of the materials which go into the manufacture of other Du Pont products.

Thus it is evident that the progress and expansion of the Du Pont Company has been the logical development of a Great Chemical Industry, providing not only a variety of finished products, but the basic materials which are essential for the life of the American industry.

E. I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS & CO., INC.

Wilmington, Delaware

Botany Worsted Mills

Passaic, New Jersey

New York Offices:

200 Fifth Avenue, New York

Now at all fountains
5c a glass

GRAPE BOUQUET



You'll relish a glassful of this cool, sparkling drink with the wonderful grape flavor—a quality product from the House of

ANHEUSER-BUSCH

St. Louis

*Also Manufacturers of Budweiser,
A-B Ginger Ale, Bevo and Malt Nutrine*

Hotel Continental

"Centre of New York's Activities"

**Broadway at Forty-first St.
NEW YORK CITY**

Five Minutes from the Pennsylvania and
Grand Central Terminals; Within Easy
Access of the Retail Shopping Dis-
trict and Surrounded by
Forty Theatres

300 OUTSIDE ROOMS

Each With Private Bath

RATES:

Single: \$2.50 \$3.00 \$3.50 \$4.00

Double: \$4.50 \$5.00 \$6.00 \$7.00

COMFORT OF OUR GUESTS
Our First Consideration

Fun Everywhere with a

Radiola

(REG. U. S. PAT. OFFICE)



This symbol of
quality is your
protection.

Fun—music—news—educa-
tion—all on the air. Listen
in with a Radiola. There are
Radiolas of many sizes—each
noted for power, long dis-
tance, and dependability—for
quality and simplicity. Be
sure to look for the **Radiola**
name on the receiving set
you buy.

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

SALES OFFICES: DEPT. 164

233 Broadway New York, N. Y.

10 So. La Salle Street
Chicago, Ill.

433 California Street
San Francisco, Cal.

P—A—X

Private Automatic Exchange

A Complete Automatic System of Interior
Communication, Combining Facilities for
Meeting, in a Business or Industrial
Organization, Every Intercom-
munication Need

This equipment is manufactured in the
same factories and to the same rigid speci-
fications as the equipment for public Auto-
matic Telephone Systems in use all over the
world. It is sturdy, compact and dependable
—built to meet the exacting demands of the
world's most prominent telephone engineers.

More than a private telephone exchange—
the Automatic Electric Services of the P-A-X
include and co-ordinate interior telephony,
code call, conference, watchman service and
all other intercommunication needs.

Automatic Electric Company
Engineers, Designers and Manufacturers of
the Automatic Telephone in use the world
over

Home Office and Factory, CHICAGO, U. S. A.



This book—one penny

Mail a penny post-card at once to Johns-
Manville, Inc., 292 Madison Avenue at
Forty-first Street, New York City, for this
booklet—"Re-roofing for the last time."

Even if you are not ready to re-roof
now, this book will give you some dollar-
saving information on the subject. And
if you are forced to re-roof now, don't
decide on the method or material until you
have read this booklet. It may save you
money.



JOHNS-MANVILLE, Inc.

292 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.

Branches in 62 Large Cities

DWIGHT P. ROBINSON & COMPANY
INCORPORATED
ENGINEERS AND CONSTRUCTORS
NEW YORK

CHICAGO

PHILADELPHIA

YOUNGSTOWN

LOS ANGELES

ATLANTA

MONTREAL

RIO DE JANEIRO

THE ATLANTIC REFINING CO.
Petroleum Products

**Made in America by American Labor
 and Known all over the world.**



Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

Brunswick



INTEGRITY GUARANTEED

THE F & D's facilities for serving Union Labor include Fidelity Bonds for Secretaries, Treasurers and other officials of National and State Federations.

These bonds guarantee an honest accounting of all funds handled by officials and make sure that the affairs of the various associations will be properly conducted.

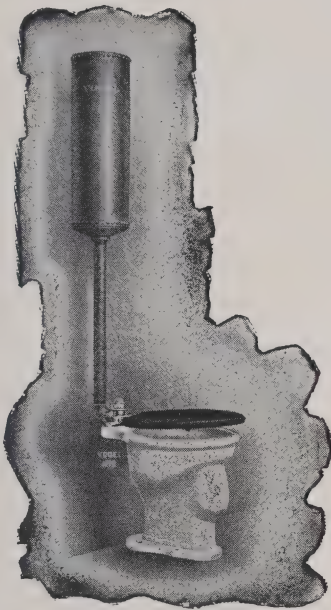
Wherever there is a Local Union there is an F & D Representative ready to supply the bonds needed for the protection of its funds. Unusually prompt service on the part of all F & D Representatives in the execution of bonds and the payment of just claims is made possible by the location of branch offices or general agencies in most of the principal cities in the country.

FIDELITY AND DEPOSIT COMPANY
OF MARYLAND

"The Bonding Company"

BALTIMORE

Fidelity and Surety Bonds and Burglary Insurance



VOGEL

PATENTED

No. 9 Automatic Closets

for
SCHOOLS
MILL VILLAGES
FACTORIES
and
COMFORT STATIONS

Save water. No intricate parts. Two washers. Easy of access when repairs are needed. Write for catalog.

Can be furnished with Extended Lip Bowl

Joseph A. Vogel Co.

Wilmington, Del.

St. Louis, Mo.

AN extra bathroom adds more to the convenience and market value of a house or apartment than anything else you can buy with the same money.

Where room is limited, there are Crane fixtures designed especially to economize space. Even a large clothes closet can be transformed into an inviting bathroom with a lavatory and shower which will double your home comfort and save time for the whole family.

Go to your plumbing contractor's and see how many interesting suggestions you will get from the wide variety of Crane plumbing and heating fixtures he can get for you.

CRANE

GENERAL OFFICES: CRANE BLDG., 836 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO
CRANE LIMITED: CRANE BLDG., 386 BEAVER HALL SQUARE, MONTREAL

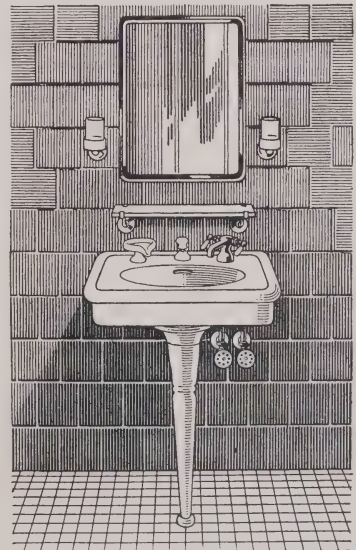
*Branches and Sales Offices in One Hundred and Forty-five Cities
National Exhibit Rooms: Chicago, New York, Atlantic City
San Francisco and Montreal*

Works: Chicago, Bridgeport, Birmingham, Chattanooga, Trenton and Montreal

CRANE EXPORT CORPORATION: NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO

CRANE-BENNETT, LTD., LONDON

CRANE: PARIS, NANTES, BRUSSELS



*Crane "Idalia" Lavatory
of White Vitroware*

SWEET-ORR & COMPANY, INC.

15 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK

UNION MADE

WORK SHIRTS
DRESS SHIRTS
OVERALLS

**UNION MADE**

WORK PANTS
DRESS PANTS
CORDUOYS

THE FAMOUS TUG-O-WAR CONTEST

If you and five others can rip a pair of Sweet-Orr Tug-O-War Work Pants in a steady pull there's a free pair for each. Ask your Sweet-Orr dealer.

DEMAND

Sauer's Vanilla

AND

32 Other Flavors

*Seventeen Highest
Awards for
Purity, Strength and
Flavor*

The Largest Selling Brand in the U.S.

The C. F. Sauer Co.

Richmond, Va.

YOU MUSTN'T GROW OLD

Nature never intended us to grow old. Keeping the arteries soft and pliant is a matter of intelligent food selection and rational exercise. Avoid hardening of the arteries and the self-poisoning that comes from undigested foods by eating

SHREDDED WHEAT*Made Only by***THE SHREDDED WHEAT CO.**

Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Peabody Coal Company

CHICAGO

*Founded 1883***Operating**

Forty-four Mines in Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Wyoming, with annual capacity of 26,000,000 tons.

James Stewart & Company, Inc.*Building Construction*

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

WASHINGTON

CLEVELAND

ST. LOUIS



S
H
E
L
L



POPULARITY the reward of quality

WHEN you taste appetizing Mueller's Spaghetti, remember that the *flavor* and *nourishment* comes from the finest BLENDED Wheats and give you the necessary *food value* units to supply increased nerve force, make red blood, strong bones and muscles.

Serve Mueller's a different way every day.

"All you need in a food."

Write for Recipe Book.



Since 1867
C. F. MUELLER CO.
Jersey City, N.J.

Workmen's Compensation, Liability and Automobile Insurance AT COST

PROMPT AND LIBERAL CLAIM SETTLEMENTS
EXPERT SAFETY ENGINEERING SERVICE

LIBERTY MUTUAL
INSURANCE COMPANY

HOME OFFICE, BOSTON

ALBANY
BALTIMORE
BUFFALO
CHICAGO
LOUISVILLE
LYNCHBURG
NASHVILLE
NEWARK
NEW YORK CITY

PHILADELPHIA
PITTSBURGH
PORTLAND
PROVIDENCE
RICHMOND
SPRINGFIELD
WILMINGTON, DEL.
WORCESTER

CLEAN UP WITH LAVA SOAP



THE MECHANIC'S FRIEND

Makes you fresh as a daisy
When you're tired or lazy.

NECESSARY PUBLIC SERVICE

The Gas and Electric Companies of this country supply a service which is almost as important to us as the air we breathe.

They have made tremendous investments of capital and maintain efficient organizations and elaborate equipment to provide comforts and necessities of life at the lowest possible cost to the consumer.

The Gas and Electric Companies are as interested in giving good service as the public is in receiving it.

They deserve your continued support and appreciation.

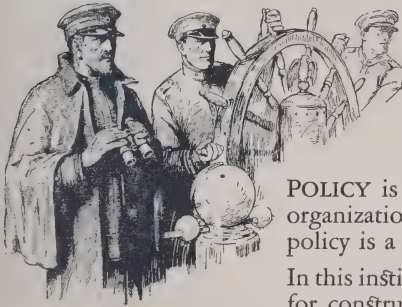
Typewriter and Office Supply Co.

Commercial Stationers

FILING DEVICES, WOOD AND STEEL;
DESKS, CHAIRS, BOOKCASES.
LOOSE LEAF BINDERS AND SUPPLIES.
SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

722 THIRTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST - WASHINGTON, D. C.

A N E X T R A M E A S U R E O F S E R V I C E



POLICY

POLICY is the body of principles which guide the conduct of the organization. Every business concern has a policy because even no policy is a policy.

In this institution the policy is definite and pronounced. It calls always for constructive financial service to American business. In war or peace, in storm or calm, there has been no departure from that policy.

Five thousand customer banks and many thousand individual customers attest it. It is one of the striking components of the *extra measure of service* normal to these banks.

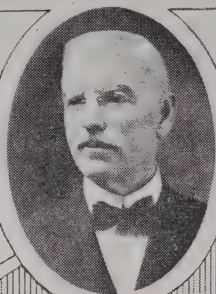
The CONTINENTAL *and* COMMERCIAL BANKS

CHICAGO

RESOURCES MORE THAN 500 MILLIONS



JAMES DUNCAN
FIRST VICE-PRES.



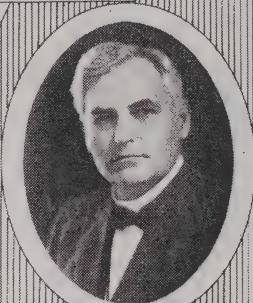
FRANK DUFFY
SECOND VICE-PRES.



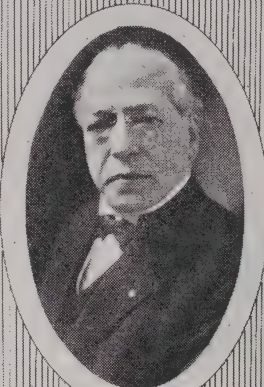
WILLIAM GREEN
THIRD VICE-PRES.



T.A. RICKERT
FOURTH VICE-PRES.



FRANK MORRISON
SECRETARY



SAMUEL GOMPERS
PRESIDENT



DANIEL J. TOBIN
TREASURER



JACOB FISCHER
FIFTH VICE-PRES.



MATTHEW WOLL
SIXTH VICE-PRES.



MARTIN F. RYAN
SEVENTH VICE-PRES.



JAMES WILSON
EIGHTH VICE-PRES.

1924
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL *of the*
AMERICAN FEDERATION *of* LABOR



DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS OF THE
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Vol. XXXI

SEPTEMBER, 1924

No. 9

Report and Action on Men and Platforms

Executive Council of American Federation of Labor Adopts Findings of Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.,
August 2, 1924.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

THE Executive Council, at its last meeting, instructed the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee and as many other members of the Executive Council as could find it convenient, to attend the National Democratic and Republican conventions, and that the Executive Committee present the demands of labor to both conventions.

These instructions were carried out and we present the following report:

Labor's Political Demands

The policy of the American Federation of Labor's active and positive participation in politics was inaugurated in 1906. This non-partisan political policy was intended to secure the election of those in favor of the just and the humanitarian aims and purposes of the labor movement and the defeat of those who had demonstrated their hostility to the cause of labor.

The scope of the application of our policy has been extended to apply not only to congressional elections but to the offices of president and vice-president of the United States and to participation in primary elections. However, in principle the non-partisan policy inaugurated in 1906 has ever since governed the political course of the American Federation of Labor. Adherence to this non-partisan policy has resulted in a splendid record of legislative achievements. Reference to our 1906 Bill of Grievances com-

pared with legislative enactments since testifies to the progress and success resulting from Labor's non-partisan political policy.

In keeping with this non-partisan political policy and by direction of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council and the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor prepared a series of legislative and constitutional proposals for submission to both major political parties for favorable consideration and incorporation into their political platforms.

These proposals were as follows:

Out of our experiences as workers and citizens of this republic American labor has reached carefully considered conclusions upon proposals that should be embodied in our national policies. As your political party is to make an appeal to the minds and consciences of the voters for support of a national program to be formulated in your party platform, as representatives of America's workers we submit for your most earnest consideration proposals that labor deems essential to continued national progress and maintenance of a genuine patriotism that comes from confidence in guiding political ideals as well as wisdom and integrity of administration.

With fully justified reasons our voters will scrutinize most critically the declarations and decisions of party conventions held this year. There is imperative need for revival of a feeling of high responsibility for maintaining political activity on a plane compatible with those ideals for which we as a republic stand. The following proposals constitute the legislative program which labor urges as imperative and eminently constructive, and insists should be included in your platform:

To promote highest material progress which is the basis for national effectiveness as well as an agency for national service, we urge that industry and commerce be freed from legislative prohibitions that restrict development in conformity to economic requirements. To this end we propose the repeal of anti-trust legislation and the enactment of legislation that will provide regulation in public interest and legalize economic organization as well as the constructive activities of trade associations.

It is unescapable that an integral part of legislation establishing this economic policy is full recognition of the right of workers to assist themselves in unions for their protection and advancement both as workers and citizens and collectively to carry on the legitimate functions of trade unions. Perversion of the injunctive process to apply to personal relations in industrial disputes must be prohibited and equity procedure returned to its beneficent service in protection of property.

It is essential for the conservation of national virility that child life be protected. We therefore urge the ratification by the states of the joint resolution passed by the Congress, to amend the Constitution empowering the Congress to enact such legislation as will safeguard the future child life of our Republic.

Because the labor clauses of the transportation act of 1920 have proved ineffective, we ask their repeal and the enactment of legislation that will afford opportunity for the voluntary organizations of management and employees to deal with problems of industrial relations.

We demand the enactment of legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one state into another shall be subject to the laws of the latter state exactly as though they had been produced therein.

In order to mitigate unemployment attending business depressions, we urge the enactment of legislation authorizing that construction and repair of public works be initiated in periods of acute unemployment.

In appreciation we urge adequate provision for the full rehabilitation of all injured in the service during the World War.

We urge proper recognition of the work of those in the civilian service of the

government with adequate compensation based upon equitable classification.

We favor the enactment of more comprehensive compensation laws to provide for all workers not covered by state compensation acts. We demand more liberal provisions for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases.

We maintain that the Volstead Act is contrary to the desire of the majority of our citizens as well as the spirit of the eighteenth amendment, and we demand that it be modified to permit the manufacture and sale of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent alcohol.

We declare for the maintenance of freedom of speech, press, assemblage and association. We oppose any regulation to restrict these fundamental rights, believing that individuals and groups should be responsible for their acts and utterances.

We oppose conscription except as a military measure for defensive war and oppose all proposals to initiate compulsory labor under whatever guise.

In order to maintain representative government based upon the will of the people, we advocate a constitutional amendment enabling Congress to reenact by two-thirds vote any measure declared unconstitutional by the supreme court of the United States.

Labor favors graduate income and inheritance taxes and opposes the sales tax as well as all other attempts to place excessive burdens on those least able to pay.

We demand that our nation identify itself with international agencies and conferences to promote world peace. We urge membership in the League of Nations and participation in the world court.

SAML. GOMPERS,
President.

Attest:

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

(SEAL) JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Second Vice-President.
FRANK DUFFY, Third Vice-President.
WILLIAM GREEN, Fourth Vice-President.
T. A. RICKERT, Fifth Vice-President.
JACOB FISCHER, Sixth Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL, Seventh Vice-President.
MARTIN F. RYAN, Eighth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

SAML. GOMPERS,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAS. O'CONNELL,
Executive Committee,

*A. F. of L. National Non-Partisan
Political Campaign Committee.*

In addition the Executive Council adopted the following declaration on the selection of candidates for the offices of president and vice-president, which declaration was directed to the convention of both major political parties and to the conference group having placed independent presidential and vice-presidential candidates into the field:

Devoted to the cause of American principles of justice and freedom, and patriotically desirous of contributing the efforts of the working people of our republic in the furtherance of true Americanism and of the improvement in the

life and of the standards and conditions of work of the toiling masses of our country, the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council enters the impending political campaign for the selection and election of president and vice-president of the United States and of senators and representatives, for the purpose of service to the people and institutions of our common country.

In keeping with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council in regular session assembled, considering our duties as American citizens and our responsibilities as the representatives of America's wage earners do hereby manifest and express to the conventions of the major political parties of our country the earnest hope and pressing insistence that the declaration of intentions to be formulated by each of these political parties, containing pledges to be redeemed by congressional and executive action, shall embrace the full protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the great mass of the people of the republic—the farmers and wage earners,

It is the further hope and insistence of the American wage earners that founded upon a platform of honor, honesty, and progress, candidates will be nominated for president and vice-president of the United States who shall commend themselves to the favorable consideration of the great mass of the citizenship of our country, and that in the selection of these candidates the hopes, aspirations, and claims of America's wage earners for favorable consideration shall be treated fairly and justly.

Favorable consideration is strongly urged of the names of outstanding types of America's workers for the nominations to positions within the gift of these political party conventions, and all workers, all citizens are called upon in bringing to realization the high and lofty purpose of securing the selection of candidates capable of intelligently, fearlessly, and justly promoting and protecting the human interest of our people and of restoring and safeguarding the principles of justice and freedom.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The executive committee of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee presented Labor's proposals to the Republican convention.

The Republican convention gave Labor's representatives a brief and curt hearing. The Republican platform ignores entirely the injunction issue. It fails to deal with Labor's rights to organize or the right of the workers even in self-defense, collectively to cease work. That platform sustains the Railroad Labor Board, with all that it means in the direction of governmental coercion of wage earners. *It fails to recommend the ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.*

The Republican convention nominated candidates unacceptable to labor.

Its candidate for vice-president is one of the most outspoken enemies of labor and is the founder of an organization dedicated to the task of writing into all political platforms planks calling for the anti-union shop—an organization which also encouraged and supported the Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen.

Labor's representatives submitted to the Democratic convention identical proposals to those submitted to the Republican convention. At

this convention an extended hearing was granted. The Democratic platform pledges that party to legislation to regulate hours and conditions of all labor a proposal against which the American Federation of Labor has struggled throughout its whole history. It is silent as to the injunction. It does not meet the Railroad Labor Board issue. On that point it is so equivocal that the enemies of Labor may well feel that their desires will be met. *It, too, fails to recommend the ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.*

The Democratic convention nominated candidates unacceptable to Labor.

As to the candidates and platforms both the Republican and the Democratic national party conventions flaunted the desires of Labor, the Republican convention in an arrogant manner; the Democratic convention by that evasiveness which is the customary mark of insincerity.

There remains the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, the first an independent Republican; the second an independent Democrat, running as such.

These candidates have proffered a platform in which the economic issues of the day are met in a manner more nearly conforming to Labor's proposals than any other platform.

This platform pledges a remedy for the injunction evil.

It pledges the right to organize and collectively to cease work.

It pledges protection of the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

It pledges abolishment of the Railroad Labor Board.

It pledges a measure to annul the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws permanently unconstitutional.

It declares for direct election of president and vice-president and election of federal judges.

It recommends prompt ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.

It pledges subsequent federal legislation to protect child life.

On international issues this platform does not conform to Labor's proposals but it does more fully than any other political platform meet Labor's views in relation to domestic economic issues.

We can not do other than point out this fact, together with the further and perhaps more important fact that the candidates, Mr. La Follette and Mr. Wheeler, have throughout their whole political careers, stood steadfast in defense of the rights and interests of the wage earners and the farmers.

We can not fail to observe that both Republican and Democratic parties through manipulated control are in a condition of moral bankruptcy which constitutes a menace and a peril to our country and its institutions. Machine politicians have brought upon our country moral obliquity and unashamed betrayal. We are judging on the basis of the condition which exists and this judgment will be reversed only when the conditions upon which it is based are changed.

Service to the people is a noble cause which demands consecration and

the American labor movement demands that there be that consecration in candidates to whom it gives its support.

Our course is clear. In pointing to the platform and records of the independent candidates, we do so with the confidence that no other course can be pursued if we are to remain true to our convictions and our traditions. Those who are hostile to labor and to the people generally and who devoted their energies to the service of reaction and special interests must be opposed.

We call upon the wage earners and the great masses of the people everywhere who stand for freedom, justice, democracy and human progress to rally in this campaign to the end that the representatives of reaction and special interests may be defeated and the faithful friends and servants of the masses elected.

Cooperation hereby urged is not a pledge of identification with an independent party movement or a third party, nor can it be construed as support for such a party, group or movement except as such action accords with our non-partisan political policy. We do not accept government as the solution of the problems of life. Major problems of life and labor must be dealt with by voluntary groups and organizations of which trade unions are an essential and integral part. Neither can this cooperation imply our support, acceptance or endorsement of policies or principles advocated by any minority groups or organizations that may see fit to support the candidacies of Senator La Follette and Senator Wheeler.

In the campaign to elect men to Congress, regardless of their political group or party affiliation and deserving of Labor's support, there must be unity of purpose and method, therefore leadership must lie with the only organization having the right to speak for the entire labor movement. In this the American Federation of Labor yields to none but will maintain steadfast its leadership, guidance and direction.

In the selection and election of men to public office within the several states leadership must lie with our state federations of labor and in city or county elections this right must rest with central labor bodies.

Organized labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is not partisan to any political party or group. It is partisan to principles—the principles of freedom, of justice, of democracy.

It is the duty of trade unionists, their friends and sympathizers, and all lovers of freedom, justice and democratic ideals and institutions to unite in defeating those seeking public office who are indifferent or hostile to the people's rights and interests. It is the duty of all to support such candidates to public office who have been fair, just and outspoken in behalf of the welfare of the common people.

We shall analyze the record and attitude of every aspirant to public office and shall give our findings the widest possible publicity. Labor's enemies and friends must be clearly known and be definitely indicated.

In calling upon all affiliated and recognized national and international and brotherhood organizations, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, local unions labor's friends and sympathizers, to give united, unrestricted, loyal and active support to the non-partisan campaign now set in

motion we emphasize the imperative need of an intensive educational campaign to enable all to act with discrimination and wisdom in this election and to stand faithfully by our friends and elect them and to oppose our enemies and to defeat them.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
MATTHEW WOLL,

*Executive Committee,
American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan
Political Committee Committee.*

In the Midst of Battle

By MATTHEW WOLL

President, Photo-Engravers' International Union

LABOR DAY finds us in the midst of a great political campaign. It finds us in a campaign that differs from all past campaigns, because there are three presidential candidates in the field and because Labor has given its endorsement to a candidate who does not stand on the ticket of either of the major parties.

The American labor movement, partisan to principles and to the men who espouse those principles, astonished a great many politicians when it was determined to support Robert M. La Follette to the limit. Many politicians who thought they knew something about American labor suddenly discovered that they had neglected their own education.

These politicians thought that when platforms were in the making they could play about as they pleased with the demands of labor for platform planks guaranteeing certain fundamental and just propositions. They are beginning to understand that Labor is in dead earnest about the principles which it advocates.

If the politicians are now showing that they are frightened by the impending consequences of their hostility it is a condition entirely satisfactory to us. We intend that the consequences shall be ample.

Considering all platforms and candidates, Labor found that the Independent platform of Robert M. La Follette and the ticket headed by Mr. La Follette more nearly answered the requirements of Labor—the requirements of progress, freedom, justice and humanity. And so, Labor is for La Follette and Wheeler—for them with all of its energy, with all of its sincerity and devotion.

Let me add that our concentration of energy on the political field is not going to swerve by a fraction of an inch from our attention to the economic welfare of the workers. Let no corporation oppressor seek to use this campaign period as a time for the forcing of economic injustices. We are united, strong, determined. We are alert and on guard.

The Photo-Engravers, as a part of the great labor movement, are progressing, improving their conditions and their wages. Our annual convention has just been held and we are facing into a new year in which we shall do our best to be a credit to the traditions of our movement and in which we shall seek to carry forward the banner of our movement to new marks of achievement. We realize our unity of interest with the whole great movement and we draw constant inspiration from that realization.

We Stand On the Threshold Of a Wonderful Day!

By JOHN A. VOLL

President, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada

(This Labor Day article by John A. Voll was written by him for the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST just a few days before his death, which occurred on July 27 in Atlantic City, the result of acute indigestion. President Voll was in Atlantic City attending wage conferences with the employers of his trade. Thus, in hopeful, confident mood, passed one of the splendid characters in the labor movement. Thus, looking forward to great achievement, passed one of Labor's ablest, most fearless spokesmen, striving to the very last to do his best in behalf of the cause he loved and served).

NEVER in the world's history has there been a time fraught with so much achievement or prolific of so much hope for the masses of our country and the world as the dawning of Labor Day, 1924, ushers in and records. The tyranny and sordid selfishness practiced in the ages gone by, and carried to a degree to our present age, is disappearing as in a mist due to the constant insistence of the organized wage earners that men are created free and equal and that there shall be no discrimination under the law. Sorry indeed was the plight of the wage earner previous to organization into trade unions. Therefore, let it be fixed indelibly in our minds that progress in his interest and achievement for his welfare dates from the formation of his organization in the industrial field, and which has been so magnificently and triumphantly carried forward and upward under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Today as the writer views the situation the masses chiefly through the sacrifices and efforts of the organized wage earners of our country, and the world, stand upon the threshold of a wonderful evolutionary revolution, that if continued to be rightly steered and handled, will bring to them much more freedom and a much greater share of sunshine in life than has been theirs heretofore. With the dawning of Labor Day, 1924, there is no class in our country, or no place so far remote that does not realize and recognize the power and influence which the organized labor movement as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor is wielding for good in the interest of all the people. Hence any little progress or small achievement made or gained by the smallest unit of the organized labor movement in its uplift work leaves its reflex upon the minds of those who are looking forward and upward but as yet have not been able to penetrate through the mists of doubt and pessimism regarding their own welfare.

Relative to the Glass Bottle Blowers' organization its membership has magnificently weathered the cross currents by which it has been buffeted for the past twenty years through the introduction of automatic machinery. The organization is now in agreement through collective bargaining with more than forty plants throughout the United States and Canada operating the new method of production.

Optimism has taken the place of pessimism and indifference in the minds of the members and they look forward with inspirational satisfaction to that time when through education, understanding and compromise the economic rights of the workers will be recognized and industrial warfare become so minimized as to be almost a thing of the past.

Complete Organization the Goal

By JOHN L. LEWIS

President, United Mine Workers of America

AS LONG as men toil for their daily bread there will be a Labor Day in America. One day will be set apart from all the others in honor of labor. There will always be a day when the toilers may lay aside their tasks and renew their loyalty to the undying principles upon which the American labor movement is founded. And it is well that it is so. It is right that the American public should pause on one day in the year and celebrate over the fact that in this great country labor is free, that labor is noble, that labor is dignified, that labor is honorable. This splendid nation was built by the hands and the brains of those who toiled over their duties in the molding of American society and civilization. It was due to the labor of those pioneers that the waste places were cleared and made to bloom in the sunlight. Labor is responsible for all of the development that has taken place in America. All progress has come from the hands of labor. Why should we not all be proud that we are counted among the laborers of the land when labor has accomplished so much?

And why should we not all be proud that we are numbered among the hosts that have organized themselves into the great American labor movement which means so much to those who toil? Millions have banded themselves together for mutual protection and mutual good. That's what the labor movement means. We who are within the folds of this movement realize the benefits that come from our association. Only those who refuse this boon or those who are arrogantly deprived of the right to join are the losers. Labor Day should remind us all that it is our moral duty to help our brother toilers by bringing them under the banner of the labor movement.

On this Labor Day let us renew our determination to spread the light of trade unionism into all the land and to all the people and to carry the torch forward until its light is made to shine in the hearts of all men. Complete organization of labor in America is and should be the aim of the trade union movement. None should falter, none should hesitate, none should fail until this task of 100 per cent organization is an accomplished fact. Nothing less will do.

The Minutes of the Commission on International Labor Legislation, together with other documentary material concerning the origin of the International Labor Office and the First Conference at Washington, 1919, may now be secured by officials of the American Labor organizations through the Washington Branch of the International Labor Office, Lenox Building, Washington, D. C. The volume may be had at a reduced cost of \$1.

State federations, central bodies, all organized labor, sympathizers and humanitarians should do everything within their power for the ratification by their state legislatures of the humane amendment to save the child life of America.

Law Alone Can Not Right the World's Great Wrongs

By G. W. PERKINS

President, Cigarmakers' International Union of America

NEARLY everybody is striving for a better and a fuller life, and to make the world a better place to live in. Some think that this can be done by law. It can't. Laws are necessary to hold society together. So long as the workers and producers, and especially the wage earners are cheated out of their birthright to live in decency and comfort, laws have not and never will succeed in making people entirely obedient thereto.

The young with impressionable minds are taught "that all men are created equal." After crossing the threshold of activity in life's struggle for existence, they find that many live in the shadow of the gnawing fear of the loss of employment. In many instances they work for wages that keep them lock-stepped with poverty, and a few jumps ahead of the poorhouse.

They find that the few are living in luxurious surroundings, with more wealth and money than they know what to do with.

There sometimes comes into the minds of the burden-bearing masses a question mark concerning the old adage, "That all men are created equal."

They do not question the inspiring thought created by the term, but there seeps into the minds of many the thought that opportunity to work is not always equally adjusted and that the fruits of labor are not always proportionally distributed.

All of this creates in the minds of some the feeling of resentment. We, as trade unionists, hold that law created by legislative enactment can not make a discontented people feel that they have received justice. We declare that the only way to make people real supporters of a good, stable government is to make them happy and independent, to remove the fears of unemployment, to give them a wage that will keep their families in decency and comfort, with an old age insurance to protect against the lean years which come to most wage earners.

The trade union movement is economically, socially and politically sound to the core. Its principles lead to a better and a brighter life for all. Society, the state and civilization will never be safe until the great mass of the people, those who give service, work and produce, are lifted above justified discontent and placed in a position to exercise their inalienable rights to freedom, justice and liberty. This can best be done by and through the application of trade union principles.

Labor is mindful of the rights and the liberty of all women and men who give service, and readily and freely agrees that all engaged in the giving of service are entitled to the full reward of the results of and for the kind of service given.

We are not destructives. We seek to build up conditions under which production and distribution shall be carried forward and in which there are opportunities to live out our lives free from avoidable suffering, privation and starvation, and in which no enormous unearned fortunes exist.

On this day, Labor's own day, we reaffirm our demands for a larger exercise of industrial self-determination; for greater political, civil and industrial rights for all liberty-loving people; and to reproclaim our allegiance to and faith in our government and the imperishable principles of self-government upon which it is unrevocably predicated.

Control of Our Movement

By JOHN P. FREY

Editor, *International Molders' Journal*

ARE WE to retain control of our movement? Upon the answer depends the future of the American Trade Union Movement.

The American Trade Union Movement has encountered more efforts on the part of outsiders to influence, direct, or control its activities than any other organization. Its remarkable success has been largely due to the fact that it has successfully resisted these attempts.

When the American Trade Union Movement was in its infancy no outsiders sought to secure a directing influence or control. Those outside of our movement who took notice of what it was doing, contented themselves with condemning us as semi-criminals or calling us fools, or ignoramuses and endeavoring to laugh us out of court. The old school economists ridiculed and made light of our policies and methods. The professional reformers, with but few exceptions, ignored us and the theorists and intellectuals looked upon our early trade unions as of little importance.

As time passed and our Trade Union Movement proved the economic soundness of its principles, as its policies and its methods and its general attitude toward industrial and public questions demonstrated their justification, employers and statesmen, economists and judges, reformers and theorists began to recognize it as one of the greatest forces in our modern civilization, a movement within civilization which they were compelled to take into consideration.

With this recognition of our power, there rapidly developed a desire on the part of many individuals outside of our movement to take a hand in directing its policies and shaping its activities. Their motives were not prompted by altogether similar purposes. There were those who believed that their suggestions, and purposes would increase our strength and effectiveness. There were others who desired to use our strength to further the theories, or advance the welfare of some reform movement in which they were interested.

Some of those who brought their ideas and programs to us were influenced by most friendly motives. They believed in a Trade Union Movement. Their desire was to be helpful, their purpose was to make our movement more effective, and they were animated by the thought that they were competent to extend a helping hand, though in many cases they were conscious of a willingness to accept a position of leadership.

There were others whose purpose was more selfish. The welfare of our movement to them, was secondary to the establishing of some reform in which they were interested. They desired to use our strength and our influence to further their ends, and among these there were individuals who believed that the establishing of their reformed industrial, social or political world would do away with the necessity for trades unions.

Attempts to direct or control our movement also came from other quarters where the directing minds were influenced by more sinister motives. Attempts were made to capture or control, so that industrial and political

groups outside of the Trade Union Movement could absorb Trade Unionism and turn it into something else, some other form of industrial organization which would build itself up and function in accordance with their preconceived industrial or political theories. Within recent years our movement has encountered the efforts of the Industrial Workers of the World, the one big union, the Trade Union Educational League and the Communists to control or absorb it.

Trade unions have been made familiar with the methods these organizations have adopted, which consisted very largely of active propaganda accompanied by personal abuse and misrepresentation, coupled with extensively worked out plans for "boring from within."

There also have been groups which believed that labor could only secure justice through some political party, and these also applied the propaganda of misrepresentation and the tactics of "boring from within." Professional reformers have endeavored to have their programs endorsed. Amateur reformers have endeavored to take part in developing trade union policies and numbers of our well meaning friends have endeavored to do likewise. During recent years our movement has constantly come into contact with outside individuals and groups whose desire has been to shape our policies, direct our energies and make use of our organizations.

If there is any one necessary condition to our existence as a Trade Union Movement, it is that we shall retain complete control over the making of our policies and the development of the programs by which they will be carried into effect. We can not divide with others the responsibility which rests upon us. We can not permit others to direct our movement or decide how it shall function. Our movement necessarily consists of trade unionists only, and these must be the only ones who shall determine what shall be our policies and methods. The moment we surrender a measure of directive control to our friends, or to those who desire to use our movement for their own ends, that moment we cease to be masters of our own organization.

As a movement we are deeply indebted to our friends and sympathizers. Many of them have very largely contributed towards establishing a public approval of our movement and its aims and ideals. They have also given most valuable assistance when we were endeavoring to secure necessary legislation or became involved in some vital struggle with the forces of reaction. Their sympathy has encouraged us and their friendly attitude strengthened our influence. Their advice at times has been of much value, and for these reasons we have sought to increase the number of those outside of our movement who would be our friends. But valuable as their friendship is to us, we can not escape the conclusion that to permit these friends to pass beyond the position of advisors would be dangerous and perhaps fatal to our movement. Under all circumstances we must retain absolute control over the direction of our affairs as fully as we retain unquestioned control over the arrangement of our individual home, to which our friends are naturally most welcome.

A friend who offers kindly suggestions as to changes, which we might make in the home, or who gives advice when this is asked for, increases his value to us, but when a friend attempts to take a directing or a controlling influence in the management of the home, that moment the value of such friendship becomes questionable.

The Trade Union Movement in the United States and Canada has developed its remarkable effectiveness very largely because it has successfully resisted all of the efforts of outsiders to exercise a directing or controlling dominance. It has sought to win friends, but it has wisely resisted every effort on the part of outsiders to assume a directive or controlling influence. In the past we have successfully answered the question of control. The American trade unionist will not now surrender this essential right as the price of friendship. Neither will he cease his successful resistance to those who would attempt to divide his organizations or capture them. The motto of the trade unionist in North America has been and will continue to be, "We will retain full control over our movement, despite well-meaning friends and our enemies whoever they may be."

Glorious Labor Day

By WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON

President, International Association of Machinists

IT IS GOOD TO HAVE ONE DAY SET APART TO HONOR LABOR. In the future when we are wiser we shall have many such days in the turn of a year. It may take a long time to dig out of the minds of the people the old notions that labor was put upon man as a curse, yet, every generation brings a larger proportion of thinking beings who look upon labor as being the greatest blessing to mankind. By Labor we live. By Labor we learn. By Labor we grow and prosper. By Labor we may prove all things and be free. Then, why not a holiday, if not a Holy Day, in Labor's honor? A day when the sons and daughters of Labor lay down their tools, and make holiday together. A day when the organized workers, men and women, proclaim their rights to leisure, as well as their duty to Labor. A day when the workers parade, break bread, and make merry together, all wearing the badges of honest toil.

Yes, parade, fill the streets with your members, men and women of Labor stand shoulder to shoulder gallantly marching to the music of peace. Yours is the army that shall go joyously on its way to feed the world, to clothe the world, and to house the world when all the military armies of the earth shall have passed away. More proudly you sweep through our streets in triumph than even the battle scarred veterans from the field of carnage. Your honor is no less because you bear in your hands and carry on your wheeled floats the implements of life, instead of the weapons of death, tools to build, instead of arms to destroy constructive forces of civilization instead of trophies of war.

How better can we be reminded of the costs of prosperity and peace than by these pageants of the arts and our artisans. The right to organize, and to be represented in the legislative halls of our state and nation, protection of our children from Child Labor, of their wives and mothers from

overstrain, of the breadwinner from disease producing conditions of Labor and from preventable peril to life and limb.

The right to labor at a living wage, and with the rising standards of living, the claim of compensation for loss of employment by industrial accidents, a restful old age, a peaceful death, and an honored grave.

When the workers meet on this glorious Labor Day, 1924, let them fully realize the important opportunity they have to mold the future policy of our nation. Let them profoundly impress each other with how much it means to them and to the world at large. Never before in the history of our nation have the workers of our land had such a chance to help themselves as the present one. At no period in the history of Labor's struggle have the workers been so well equipped to revolutionize society by peaceful means, as they now have, and never was the time more ripe. When they meet let it be to emphasize to each other the futility of voting for any one to represent them in the legislative, judicial or executive branches of the government, either state or nation, who is not pledged to their interest, or by past performances in public life won the right to their trust, and confidence. Let them realize for once the right they possess and use it for their own and general good; realize that the ballot so long neglected and unappreciated, which they hold in their hands on election day, is the most powerful lever possessed by Labor and when intelligently used, as I hope it will be this year, it can move the world.

Let the Labor Day message be in each community that Labor's vote for the future will be used in Labor's cause, and not used to elevate a class that holds nothing in common with them, that despises them and is prejudiced against them. Declare in no uncertain language that from this time forward your ballots are to be used in the class struggles for the benefit of the workers, for when you uplift Labor all mankind is elevated.

"Swing outward ye gates of the future
Swing inward ye gates of the past
For the spirit of Labor is awakened
And knows of its Power at last."

Labor Day, Past, Present and Future

By HUGH FRAYNE

Organizer, American Federation of Labor

LABOR DAY, September 1, 1924, will pass into history just as the ones that have preceded it and future generations, intent upon learning of the struggles of the organized workers of America, will realize with what a herculean task the workers of our day and time were confronted.

How many of our people on this day will stop a moment to think back over these years that have passed and in doing so, will appreciate and give due credit to the American Federation of Labor and the pioneers of the movement who blazed the trail for advancement, enlightenment and the human progress which has been made up to this time. We owe much to these stalwart pioneers who so successfully fought labor's battles in the past and who are primarily responsible for many of the things which we are

enjoying today. It was their idealism, foresight and keen vision that saw the need for a Labor Day so that the toiling masses of our country could cease their labors on that day which has been legally set aside for labor's hosts to enjoy, and through various forms of celebrations to glorify its aims and purposes and the principles for which it stands.

Those of our membership who have but recently come to this country, and many others who were born here but have only recently affiliated with organized labor, do not fully realize how much has been done for them without any effort on their part. The conditions which they are enjoying today came about through the hard struggles of those who in the past unselfishly and patiently stood up against the onslaughts of the unfriendly employers, the partisan and discriminating courts, and demanded the right of the working people to enjoy more fully that which came as a result of their heroic struggles and determination to obtain a greater measure of justice for themselves and those whom they represented.

The 8-hour day; the 44-hour week; the right to organize; recognition of our unions; collective bargaining; educational opportunities for all; compensation; child labor; health and sanitation laws; the elimination of labor's enemies in political life; the creation of the departments of labor in the various states; the United States Department of Labor, and countless hundreds of other protective laws and measures for the safeguarding of the workers in industry have all been brought about through trade union activities, the principles and ideals of which the leadership of the trade union movement had a vision of in its early history when it required much more courage and determination to belong to a trade union than it does today.

It is a very strange thing that the most impatient and dissatisfied among our membership are those who have done the least to make the labor movement what it is today. It is from among these types that the new isms have emanated. It is they who want to substitute another day and time for Labor Day, and offer as an extenuating reason for their action, that the American labor movement is not progressive enough to suit them. Some of them say, What has labor done for me? The answer to that question is, What have they done for labor? There is no country in the world where the conditions of the working people are better than in America, because we have a trade union movement capable of solving their problems. It matters not what kind of movement may be started or what form or method the workers use for their social betterment and to right the wrongs of which labor complains the trade union movement must be kept strong and active as it is the very corner-stone of the whole structure upon which the past, the present and the future hope of labor must rest.

The labor movement is a serious problem, much more so than many of our people believe it to be, because of its great human purpose, expressing as it does the very heart, soul, spirit, aspirations and desires of human beings for a better and happier life for themselves, their families and dependents, and the hope of eliminating all forms of exploitation and injustice. The most potent factor for human progress is the trade union. Organized labor

has encouraged and helped in every movement that has for its purpose the advancement and betterment of humanity.

In our celebrations on this Labor Day we must remember with reverent thoughts those men of the past who had the courage of their convictions and never faltered in their determination to wipe out the brutal conditions under which the workers suffered. In dealing with the present let us not forget that we owe it to ourselves and to those of the past, that the ideals and cardinal principles for which they stood shall be sacredly protected by us, always having in mind that the future of the workers through our efforts will be improved in every way because we have done our full duty by giving the American Federation of Labor our support and loyalty in its mission of emancipation of the working people of our country through natural, normal, evolutionary processes, always standing firmly for justice and right and a better life for everyone.

This is the mission of the labor movement. Labor Day of the past, the present and the future typifies these ideals and principles, and we must not forget.

Labor Day in the Mines and Among the Miners

By WILLIAM GREEN

Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America

A MOST striking and apparently contradictory situation prevails within the coal industry. The anthracite coal mines are operating reasonably steady while the bituminous mines are working part-time. Here we have a situation wherein anthracite miners are enjoying practically steady work while the bituminous mine workers are suffering from unemployment. It is difficult for those unfamiliar with mining and the mining industry to understand why it is that the anthracite mines are operating full-time and the bituminous mines are operating part-time.

Those who are associated with the mining industry know full well the causes which produce this result. In the anthracite coal fields production and consumption is very evenly balanced. The consumers of anthracite coal for domestic purposes throughout the east and the Atlantic seaboard create a market for anthracite coal approximately equal to the production capacity of anthracite collieries. This means, of course, that the demand corresponds with the supply. In the bituminous coal fields the situation is quite different. The capacity to produce bituminous coal is far in excess of market requirements. The industry is over-developed and as at present constituted can produce more than double the amount of bituminous coal necessary to supply ordinary market demands.

The United Mine Workers' organization constantly faces the problem of part-time employment and unemployment throughout the bituminous coal districts of the country. This problem varies in proportion to the economic changes which take place in the industry. During the past year

this problem has been of grave concern to the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America. Every member has hoped for and earnestly sought a solution of this most difficult problem. The slowing up in industry has reflected itself in the coal industry. Normal production has decreased during many weeks to the amount of 50 per cent. This has resulted in part-time operation in some localities and positive idleness in other localities.

It was under these adverse circumstances that the officers and chosen representatives of the United Mine Workers of America were called upon to negotiate a wage scale in both the anthracite and bituminous coal fields. Naturally, the task of renewing negotiations for a wage scale was approached with feelings of apprehension on the part of all concerned. The whole economic outlook at the time negotiations were begun was discouraging and unsatisfactory. The task was bravely assumed and the work begun. The convention of the United Mine Workers of America, held in the city of Indianapolis last January, formulated the wage demands of the United Mine Workers of America and the scale committee of the miners presented these demands to the coal operators at Jacksonville, Fla., on February 12. As a result of this action and these wage negotiations a contract was entered into between the miners and operators providing for a renewal of the existing wage scale with all its prices and conditions for a period of three years beginning April 1, 1924, and ending March 31, 1927.

The negotiation of this wage scale is the outstanding achievement of the United Mine Workers of America during the past year. During all the period of collective bargaining leading up to and including the signing of the wage agreement the United Mine Workers of America maintained its traditional policy of no reduction in wages nor lowering of the standards of living.

In the anthracite fields a wage scale was negotiated September 5, 1923, for a period of two years beginning September 1, 1923, and ending August 31, 1925.

The signing of these wage scales means, of course, industrial peace so far as the contract relationship existing between operators and miners can produce such a result. If the future develops an industrial situation which may solve the problem of unemployment and bring to the mine workers throughout the bituminous coal fields reasonably steady work the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America can then apply themselves to the work of organization and administration.

Within the past year a favorable decision was rendered in the second case styled *The Coronado Coal Company vs. United Mine Workers of America*. This case attracted very wide attention because of the issues involved. It was a suit alleging conspiracy and a claim for damages filed by The Coronado Coal Company against the United Mine Workers of America. The trial court at Fort Smith, Ark., decided against the contention of The Coronado Coal Company and this decision was affirmed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Paul, Minn. Almost concurrently with the decision of the United States Court of Appeals at St. Paul a decision was rendered in the Pennsylvania Mining case reversing the decision of the trial court at

Fort Smith and sustaining the contention of the United Mine Workers of America. The Pennsylvania Mining case was in most all respects similar to The Coronado Coal Company case, consequently the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals was very pleasing to the United Mine Workers of America.

Summarizing the situation, the negotiation of the Jacksonville Wage Agreement, the Anthracite Wage Agreement, and the favorable decisions in the Coronado Coal Company case and the Pennsylvania Mining case are the outstanding achievements of the United Mine Workers of America during the past year. The United Mine Workers organization has its difficulties to meet and many obstacles to overcome. Notwithstanding this, the officers and members of the organization have faith in its principles, its policies and its ability to protect and preserve the economic interests of its membership. There is a firm determination on the part of all connected with the United Mine Workers of America to carry forward in a most earnest way the work of organization and education.

Unloose the Bonds! Think!

By CHARLES P. HOWARD

President, International Typographical Union

LABOR DAY A. D. 1924, finds American workers with greater reason for rejoicing than at any time in history. Not that the hosts of labor have captured the citadels of privilege; not that the great mass of men and women who perform the work of the nation find themselves in a position so far in advance of the position occupied on Labor Days of the past; not that they have reached the portals of an Arcadian dream; but because through sacrifice and bitter experience Labor has become more self-reliant.

Fullest realization by those who work that they must depend upon their own devices would prove the greatest blessing labor could enjoy. Recognition of the fact that the workers must solve their own problems would be the greatest step in Labor's advance toward freedom and brotherhood.

The worker who thinks knows the joy of service. He knows life. When deprived of the right to think he is robbed of his heritage and condemned to continue in the weary paths of ignorance, which means bondage.

Labor Day is one day which affords an opportunity for workers to think en masse. It affords an opportunity for countless messages which will cause Labor to think more throughout the year that follows than in any year that is past. The most vibrant message it is possible to deliver to Labor is: "THINK! THINK RIGHT! THINK STRAIGHT!"

On each succeeding Labor Day the captains of the hosts should utter the command: THINK! The man who works will come into his own by thinking straight.

Labor is honest. Labor's goal is the goal of honest men and honest women.

Labor's aim is high. Labor's aim is the aim of those who ask only that which they are willing to give.

Labor's purpose is good. Labor's purpose is the purpose of the creators of good things of life for the enjoyment of those who create them.

The workers are robbed of their goal and defeated in their purpose only when they refuse to think and think straight. Labor has been likened unto a powerful giant who knows not his strength. Only by thinking will Labor learn its strength and know how to use that strength for its own advancement. Labor of yesteryear was pictured with bulging muscles, the frame of a behemoth, and sloping brow. By thinking the mentality of Labor will be developed and the picture made more perfect. The great evil from which Labor has suffered in every generation and every age is the power of centralized wealth. At times the conditions forced upon Labor through the power of centralized wealth have brought such a revulsion that Labor temporarily became destructive rather than constructive. The only effective safeguard against such upheavals is for Labor to think straight. It is only possible to centralize wealth and develop the power of centralized wealth to the danger point when Labor refuses to think.

The most convincing evidence that Labor is thinking more each year is found in the progress Labor is making in its fight to take from the hands of the few the powerful agencies for centralizing wealth. Look at Labor's banks. Consider the increasing demands of Labor for a greater share of that which it produces. Hear Labor's cry against robbery by the few of the natural resources God created for all. See Labor's efforts at cooperative effort at production and distribution without paying tribute to those who do nothing to add to the value of that which has been produced.

When Labor thinks straight it will have ceased to beseech and beg. Labor will then demand and secure the fair share of that which its services are essential to produce. No more will willing hands be idle because of lack of opportunity to render service; no more will mouths go unfed in a land which enjoys infinite natural blessings of God; no more will the minds and bodies of women and children be dwarfed by burdens beyond their strength; no more will the generations to come and the mothers of those generations be condemned by the greed of the few who rob the many of the essentials of life to satisfy their desires for more than ordinary reward. Labor strives to make the world a better place in which to live. When Labor thinks straight its dream will become a reality.

Better no praise at all, than false praise; yet praise, not flattery, inspires to noble deeds. There be none so deaf thay can not hear the laud; blind men see beauty in approbation; aye, e'en the beast gives pause to friendly gratitude. A word of commendation carries the weight of wealth; appreciation is the foundation of a friendship earnest and sincere. Praise is a cheap reward, but it serves to whet the appetite of zeal.

"There are men who always confound the praise of goodness with the practice."

—*Rambler.*

A Noble Vision

By THOMAS F. McMAHON

International President, United Textile Workers of America

LABOR DAY, as it rolls 'round each year, is becoming more and more the marker or milepost for those who toil and sweat, to stop for a moment and take inventory of work done or left undone, during the course of the preceding year.

Our International Union, the United Textile Workers of America, can well afford to look backward, because by poring through the records of our local unions on file at headquarters, we are encouraged by the contents of the knowledge gleaned from such observations, to face the future with cool courage and quiet determination.

The year through which we have passed, was practically a year of depression unheard of in our industry, and yet, withal our membership in all sections of our country has met these conditions with loyalty to their local unions, and a supreme confidence and fortitude that right will overcome might.

It is this courage, this confidence, this fortitude, this test of their adherence to American trade unionism, in the face of untold suffering, that is the bulwark back of their officers which is ever driving them forward in their effort to secure justice for the workers in the mills and factories of our land today, as well as opportunity for those who will come after them.

It is gratifying to know that our membership is alive to the necessity of organization—is aware of the fact that they must be militant, with this militancy controlled by reason and fair play. It is well to know that there is spreading throughout the length and breadth of our land, in whatever corner textile mills are situated, a spirit of independence that indicates that the workers in these places are fast awakening to a realization of their own power and what it means to them in the betterment of their living conditions, they must have organization. They must have a connecting link with the workers in all other industries, and to secure this, they know now that their only salvation is to come inside an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

North and South, East and West, this desire for organization exists, and it is this fact which gives us great encouragement and hope for the better welfare of textile workers in the future.

If future plans are based on past experience, then I can see a rosy future. I can visualize the skilled textile worker of the morrow on an equal plane with the skilled workers in other crafts. I can see a happy childhood for our new-born offspring, and I know that I can see a happy motherhood with a contented fatherhood, when through a real American labor movement, their hopes and aspirations are realized.

These then are my hopes and my wishes, and when another Labor Day rolls 'round I trust that God will spare us to see the above accomplishment.

State federations, central bodies, all organized labor, sympathizers and humanitarians should do everything within their power for the ratification by their state legislatures of the humane amendment to save the child life of America.

Common People Must Save America From Exploiters

By JAMES W. KLINE

General President, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers

A LEAGUE for Industrial Peace in industry here at home might well be considered, along with that International Court of Justice, or a League of Nations abroad.

If America is to save the world, who is to save America—Big Business or the Common People? Big interests has gone the limit to destroy independence and establish dependents, crucify organized labor, and reduce the toilers of the nation to slavery. Our fight the past year has been to defend ourselves against the heartless and un-American attacks made by the promoters of the un-American "open shop," their brand of the "American plan" of company unions. To attach the word American to such a plan is next to treason. A summary of attacks would reveal something startling and astounding among the American populace who are already condemning capitalists for their rottenness.

In spite of the injunctions, anti-strike laws and the mighty millions backing the oppressors of Labor, we are bound together in the bonds of trade unionism—our Friend and Protector—the power that stands between us and the ever ready axe of the executioner, trying to force upon us the "open shop" and "company union" closed shop.

Let us beware of these enemies. They are mere camouflaged attempts to deceive the unsuspicious workers from the farms and elsewhere, especially those unorganized.

One may ask—what have we achieved in the labor movement since last Labor Day? Our answer can be heralded broadcast, with no fear of contradiction. Organized labor has defeated the most vicious attack made by the profiteers to destroy the American Federation of Labor, and substitute for the labor movement that cunningly devised plan of the so-called "company union" which means absolutely nothing but a fly's-and-molasses scheme to catch the poor misguided workers. About the best confession of this brand of company union bunk where it was cunningly worked, in fact, forced upon the employees, was in one of the big trust plants in Chicago. Let me pause long enough to inject this statement:

Arthur H. Young, manager of the department of industrial relations of the International Harvester company, told the truth and exposed the "company union" plan when he read a paper before the American Drop Forge Association, June 23, 1921, and the article appeared in *Forging-Heat Treating* for July, 1921, from which this abstract is taken:

It was generally conceded that the employees usually got considerable bunk and fell far short of getting a fifty-fifty square deal. In some plants, the foremen of the various departments had in the past been encouraged in practicing trickery on the employees. . . . The directors of these companies expect to sit in the grand stand and do the cheering, while the employees do all the work.

What stronger indictment could be brought against the "open shop,"

"company union" plan than the charge made by the manager of the industrial department of this big trust, the International Harvester Corporation.

Our brotherhood has time and time again warned our members against this system of employment, which stands exposed, convicted and condemned by one manager of the big interests, the wealth that promoted the "open shop"—all for sake of added profits and greater riches.

Experience is the best teacher we have. It teaches workers to stay away from the "open shop," and it does this teaching in no half-hearted manner.

Workers in the "open shops" eventually wake up and find themselves victims of control and rule exercised by this class of employers. They find a yoke upon their necks and they are quickly given to understand that the bosses will brook no trifling upon the part of the workers when wages, hours of labor and working conditions are mentioned. These workers must adapt themselves to conditions not of their own making, but must subject themselves to the lash of tyranny, where combinations of wealth and a system of interlocking directorates prevail, where as many as from twenty to thirty or more factory plants are controlled by one corporation, and directors in numerous other corporations are linked together through financial holdings. This is what we preach to the membership of our brotherhood to show to them what the American Federation of Labor must reckon with.

We fully realize the stupendous task of combating these combinations of wealth in industry which makes the controlling factor settling wages and working conditions. And it is encouraging to us to be able to refer our membership to the great achievements—legislative and otherwise—of the American Federation of Labor, where the Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers have contributed a part to this splendid constructive and uplift movement.

In the past year our brotherhood has had to contend with a vicious and unscrupulous enemy in Chicago. Today that enemy is a defeated outcast and our Chicago District Council is now reorganized and through the efforts of our newly elected business manager, Daniel Kerwin, and assistance from our general office, the future is most encouraging to us.

We have been able to maintain our minimum wage scale in Chicago, generally of \$1.15 to \$1.25 per hour for mechanics, and \$1.12½ to \$1.15 per hour for helpers, with a slight advance in some shops. Right here it might be well to note that wherever we have a strongly organized Metal Trades Council the wages are well up, working conditions are good and the employes are humanely treated. Here you fail to find the well organized workers getting "considerable bunk" and "foremen encouraged in practicing trickery on the employes," such as was done in the International Harvester trust plants as told by their industrial relations manager.

Chicago blacksmiths, forgers, welders and helpers are holding up wages to a high degree.

In St. Louis, Mo., our membership in the vehicle and automobile industry has done remarkably well in past years. They are all under contract, have a good agreement, and are progressing most encouragingly. Another achieve-

ment gained by our brotherhood was renewing the agreement with the Beall Brothers Supply Company of Alton, Ill., manufacturers of mining tools, who will continue to use our "hot stamp," and we have received splendid cooperation from headquarters of the United Mine Workers, who, acting upon our request, notified every lodge under its jurisdiction of our agreement with Beall Brothers and urged their members to purchase tools bearing the blacksmiths' label.

In Boston and other eastern cities we find ourselves holding our own in wage rates and working conditions. I repeat that where local Metal Trades Councils are well organized we find ourselves ably protected to withstand the attack of labor-hating employers.

On the Pacific Coast the fight being waged for our right to organize and establish collective bargaining through our chosen representative, goes on relentlessly. There has been a noticeable decline in business the past year with unemployment at a high figure. The Employers' Association on the coast has admitted this and adds that "it hopes business has reached low ebb."

In Canada our membership is doing well. It is both refreshing and encouraging to note that most of our membership over there moves with more than languid interest. Montreal is a live wire center, with the slogan of "up and doing, alive as never before."

Panama, or Canal Zone, has been given a dose of present administration tactics, reducing forces, which means an injury to our local there. But those faithful ones are not sitting down with folded arms and not saying anything; but Canal Zone will come back into its own.

The extreme southern states have suffered severely from this condition of industrial depression which the big financial interests made it possible to bring about. The agricultural interests and shipping interests have suffered severely, yet the blacksmiths have been able to maintain their rates of pay to a very appreciable degree.

The railroads are not the least to mention. It would be waste of space to attempt to review the railroad situation of the past two years. Our striking members are returning to work where settlements have been made, and only a few roads now remain on the unfair list. However, it may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that the ex-attorney general, Harry M. Daugherty who tried so hard to serve as the tool for Wall Street and the American Railway Association is now a sorry specimen to behold.

Our battle still goes on. We must engage in it and in no half-hearted manner. We must do our work without grudge or grumbling, and give ourselves to the new tasks that come before us.

Let us be hopeful for more abundant happiness and prosperity and work to that end. The king of the invisible government must be dethroned. LaFollette and Wheeler are the ones that can and will do that job.

State federations, central bodies, all organized labor, sympathizers and humanitarians should do everything within their power for the ratification by their state legislatures of the humane amendment to save the child life of America.

A Half Century of Effort

By MICHAEL F. TIGHE

International President, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America

FORTY-NINE years of active loyal service to the workers in the iron and steel industries of North America, with constant and unwavering adherence to every principle enunciated and practiced by the organized labor movement in the interest of all workers irrespective of their calling is a record that the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America presents to the readers of *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*, as its contribution for Labor Day, 1924.

Entering the half century of its existence, the experiences it has passed through, the changes it has witnessed in the iron and steel world makes its history an exceptional, and marvelous record of unselfish, unfaltering devotion to the cause of human advancement by its membership.

A pioneer in the American Labor movement, its component parts dating back to 1856, it has met the many changes in the production of material and process of manufacture in the light and knowledge that what experience teaches is best for all concerned.

Has it made mistakes? Yes and No. Its mistakes, if made, have been the same mistakes history records time and again, where crusaders in their zeal to advance their cause overestimated their strength and resources, and under-estimated the artifices and resourcefulness of those who opposed them.

Confronted time after time during its long and eventful life with the most stupendous problems that threatened its very existence, with a faith in the rightfulness of the cause of human advancement it has met every issue in a spirit of intellectual determination and resourcefulness, that has confounded the elements which assailed it.

Fundamentally its policy and practice is conciliation and cooperation. Believing firmly that there is a mutual interdependence between those who by their investments control and manage their particular lines of industry and those who produce the material, its aim has been to cultivate a spirit of confidence and good will through the agency of yearly conferences where both interested parties meet and by the exercise of good sound common sense reasoning and discussion of the many problems pertaining to their particular interests, arrive at sensible conclusions.

Through this policy it has been able to successfully negotiate wage rates and working conditions for its membership for the year 1924-1925 with those employers who recognize the true American principle of the right of employes to organize and bargain collectively for their labor power.

It is a 100 per cent labor organization, democratic in its broadest sense. It tries to see things as they really are, and not in a visionary atmosphere, that when dissolved destroys the substance for the shadow of regret, it has no "ism" other than trade unionism, fully believing it to be the only real formula that will eventually bring to the worker his emancipation from the ills that to day surround him.

Labor troubles we have with us, the loyal members of our association for the past three years have been contending for the right to organize and

bargain collectively in Washington, Pa., the Ohio Valley, and Newport, Kentucky. The sacrifices made by those of our members who are still engaged in this memorable struggle for industrial liberty will ever mark them as heroes whose example is worthy of emulation.

The times are momentous. Numerous labor problems arise that will require the conscientious thought of the best minds to guide the movement from disaster.

The fertile brain of every phrase maker is working overtime in trying to devise some "Keynote" to catch the unwary. Formulas for every ill known to human conception is being scattered broadcast, all for the same purpose.

The stern duty of the hour is for the organized labor movement, with the same unflinching devotion to the cause for which it is intended, advance as their Labor Day keynote, for 1924. Organize, Educate, Emancipate.

So may it come to pass.

Inspiring Achievement!

By GEORGE F. HEDRICK

General President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America

OUR international organization of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, has had a steady growth since January 1, 1924, and we have regained some of the losses sustained during 1921 and '22; a period which was featured by a general depression in the building industry.

The gains made are such as to assure us that our army of valiant men are prepared to do real service in the cause of Labor; the strengthening of our local unions and the crystalization of a permanent and healthy union sentiment everywhere.

As a comparison, we submit the following: On June 30, 1923, we had 102,687 members while on June 30, 1924, we had 114,170; an increase of 11,483.

In many cities and towns, our wage scales were also increased; in some instances surpassing those of 1920, when many of our local unions accepted reductions in their wage scales, believing it would stimulate the building industry.

We have further succeeded in extending the five-day-week so that at the present time, we have approximately 30,000 working under the foregoing conditions. We find that the five-day-week, wherever established, is satisfactory; both to the employer and employee and it is in fact, coming to be regarded as an absolute necessity because of the injurious material used by our members and will, we believe, eventually be universally adopted in all branches of our trade.

Financially, we have never been better equipped; the last audit showing a balance of more than half a million dollars; over three hundred thousand of which constitutes the death and disability fund; thus enabling us to meet

our necessary obligations with an average gain of no less than five thousand dollars per month.

At an approximate cost of \$175,000 a Headquarters' Building was erected at LaFayette during the years 1920 and '21, which not only does credit to the members of our own organization but to the entire labor movement. This beautiful and pretentious building has been paid for in its entirety by the members of our brotherhood and was constructed throughout by union building-tradesmen and I feel that I can truthfully state, without fear of contradiction, that it is the most exquisite structure of its kind to be occupied by union labor anywhere in this country today or to quote one observer: "This building reminds one of Ruskin's verdict of the paintings of William Mulready, which he declared united perfection of drawing with resplendence of color; for not only is the plan of the building admirable from the standpoint of utility, but it is a rare achievement in architectural and decorative art."

Guided by reports that reach us from cities and towns where men are unemployed, trade conditions are not as favorable as they were this time last year which doubtless is due to the lull that always more or less precedes a presidential election.

To off-set any attempt that might be made after the presidential election, to reduce our wage scales, we are urging and encouraging our district councils and local unions to hold their membership intact and be prepared to resist this or any other move that will hinder or retard the progress of our organization and to spread the trade union sentiment in every city and town throughout the United States and Canada.

Clerks Press Onward

By E. H. FITZGERALD

Grand President, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Station Employees

IT IS true that many changes in the industrial world have taken place since the Labor Day celebration of 1923. Many problems have been faced by the labor organizations and particularly railroad labor.

In dealing with these problems as connected with the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, I am of the opinion that the outstanding achievements during the year which has elapsed are the securing in some measure of the things this organization was set up to procure, viz: better rates of pay and improved working conditions. This Brotherhood has in effect 125 schedules or working agreements, secured by negotiations with the various railroad managements with our general committees. We have secured the abrogation of unfavorable rules, substituting in their stead more favorable ones, such as penalty overtime payments after the eighth hour of service; penalty overtime pay for calls, and the right to work six days per week, excluding the seven legally agreed upon national holidays, and with the proviso that if required to work on these days, penalty overtime shall be paid.

Among the common carriers upon which these better rules apply are

the Great Trunk Lines in the United States and Canada, including the express companies.

As to the rates of pay, this Brotherhood has been able to secure substantial increases and at the date of this writing we have several wage disputes, which in the end we believe will result in further increases.

Secondary achievements are represented in our building and bank program, both of which have been consummated in accord with the mandates of the 1922 convention, in so far as it has been humanly possible.

We face the future with courage under the assurance that those whom we represent in company with all organized labor are at last becoming conscious of the fact that they hold within their own hands the solution not alone of economic problems, but social ones as well.

Progress of the Bookbinders

By WALTER N. REDDICK
President, International Brotherhood Bookbinders

THE International Brotherhood of Bookbinders has experienced many vicissitudes since its inception in 1892 when a faithful few gathered in Philadelphia, May 5th, of that year. We have had periods of depression and then of prosperity but at all times, the men and women who are responsible for the blessings which we enjoy today are the people who have constantly adhered to the fundamental principles upon which was founded the historical organization of the American Federation of Labor of which the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders is a component part.

The memberships of the various labor organizations have fluctuated from time to time, but we are confident that the brotherhood has suffered less in numerical losses than many other stronger organizations and we are pleased to announce that the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders is at the present time stronger financially and numerically than at any time in its history—excepting of course, the short period when conditions brought on by the war resulted in a temporary and false industrial prosperity.

This healthy condition is a source of gratification to the members of the international brotherhood as we have so recently emerged from the most turbulent period ever experienced in its history. Our experience in establishing the forty-four hour work week was in every way identical with

the trials to which we were subjected during the fight for the eight-hour work day. The employers' associations in both instances united and combined their resources to defeat our purpose and prevent our local unions from carrying out their intention to establish the shorter work week previously agreed upon by both constituent bodies—the printing trades unions on the one hand and the employers' associations on the other. There were various schemes concocted and before the time arrived for the establishment by mutual agreement of the 44-hour work week, there had been pressure brought to bear on the United States Chamber of Commerce and its auxiliary organizations to prevent the employing printers of the country from carrying out their portion of the agreement and we found a great many of them had repudiated their agreement and we in collusion with the non-union employers not only to defeat the inauguration of the 44-hour work week but to reduce wages and in some instances we found the employers in collusion with the publishers' associations to cause a shut-down prior to May 1, 1921, in order to starve the workers into submission. In other words, they fell in line with the monied interests of this country who proposed to repudiate labor through the starvation route in the year 1921.

There is no need to go into any lengthy detailed enumeration of the occurrences of the tragedy of the 44-hour fight as our

experiences in this direction were similar with those of other labor organizations. Suffice it to say that the 44-hour work week has been universally established in the industry notwithstanding the fact that there are some local unions which do not at present enjoy the shorter work week, that is to say they are not in contractual relations with their employers providing for a basic wage scale for 44 hours. There are some of our members who are working 48 hours a week but they have benefited by an increase in wages gained on account of the efforts of the international union to establish the shorter work week. We have been from the time the effort was first made, constantly entering into agreements with employers carrying provisions for the 44 hours and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders has today in its jurisdiction many local unions who enjoy this advantage at the same or a much higher rate of pay than they received for 48 hours, and we feel confident that the time is not far distant when all our local unions will be enjoying contracts providing for a basic wage scale for a work week of 44 hours.

Again the situation is similar to that which existed when we made efforts to establish the eight-hour work day, but the difference lies in the fact that a comparison of the conditions three years after each struggle shows that we have been much more successful in our efforts to establish the 44 hours than when we attempted to

inaugurate the eight-hour day. We have more local unions today with satisfactory contracts than we had three years after the previous struggle. In addition, our numerical strength is now nearly 50 per cent greater than it was three years after the inauguration of the eight-hour day and we are reminded again that our finances are also in a much better condition.

A study of the statistics of the labor movement of this country shows that every labor organization lost members in 1921, due to the fact that the industrial boom due to the war forced many thousands of workers into the industrial field and in the days of reconstruction which immediately followed, those people were eliminated, thereby causing the memberships of the various organizations to greatly depreciate. But the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders has weathered the storm and is in a fair way to become one of the strongest international unions of the printing trades.

We learn by experience, and the international brotherhood, having passed its apprenticeship period, will undoubtedly profit. We have been through the fight and although we still bear the scars of battle, we have been amply fortified to protect our interests in the event of another such crisis, for after all, sometimes the very things that at first seem so disastrous prove to be of the greatest value in the end toward making real progress.

Labor Day

By WILLIAM KOHN

President, Upholsterers' International Union

HUMAN progress is as necessary to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as the air is to keep body and soul together.

The labor movement has made tremendous progress in past years. It has taken the worker out of bondage and sheer poverty and placed him right into the world of civilization. Science, banking, cooperative enterprises and large industrial institutions are drawing their best and most successful service out of the working class, which is very remarkable and presents

most vividly the advancement being made by labor year after year.

The shorter work day has greatly contributed to the workers intellectual development, which brought about the full recognition of the organized labor movement as a component and important part of our present day society.

Labor has been enslaved for many centuries. But little by little with persistent determination we battled our way through the darkness to the horizon of freedom where mankind can determine of

its own volition and desire under what conditions it will work.

When we look back only fifty years, twenty-five years and ten years ago and analyze the working conditions and the standards of living of the wage earners then, compare those conditions with the present day achievements, we have every reason to be proud of the sacrifices made by labor men and women in the march of progress in behalf of humanity.

As for our own international, I can say with pride that we stand firmly and undefeated in our undertakings, while the character and achievements of our membership stand out like the rising of a glittering sun, bringing warmth and comfort to our members.

While here and there we have to fight to maintain established working conditions, nevertheless, we have been successful in raising our minimum wage, brought about sanitary conditions of shops, established a forty-hour week in one city and a five-day week of forty-four hours in two cities.

We are making a special effort to organize the women in our trade, adding a little improvement every day and guarding vigilantly our established conditions.

Labor Day should be one of reflection for each member of organized labor. We should look back twelve months, take census of what has been accomplished and then look ahead and lay plans for what can be accomplished by the time the next Labor Day comes around.

Laborers March On

By D. D'ALESSANDRO

President, Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union

THE Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union and its members should cheerfully celebrate Labor Day. The organization in general and the local unions and members in particular have made marked progress and a great many of our members have obtained during this past year their one dollar per hour and the eight-hour day.

With very few exceptions agreements have been renewed for one and for two years and it is a fact, many new agreements were entered into recognizing the union shop for our laborers.

Many of our unions gained a five and ten cent per hour advance in wages and in several cases the demand was cheerfully granted, being considered justified even by the employers themselves.

The financial status of the locals and of the international union has been satisfactory and the employment of our mem-

bers has been fair, considering the slowing up of building construction in certain sections of the country.

The intrigues in New York City are the only dark cloud obscuring the progress of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, but our loyal members, with renewed faith, have pledged themselves to continue to battle against the intrigues, malice and ignorance of those who conspire against the welfare of this bona fide international union, a good standing organization in the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor.

This is Labor Day 1924. May its celebration set thinking the wage workers of our calling and may they feel with their hearts and souls what is right and may their good deeds redeem them and deliver them from the sinister influences that are now trying to engulf them.

There is nothing about organization that belongs to any particular group of workers, to special kinds of work or to any particular degree of skill or kind of preparation for work. Organization is a universal principle that has a meaning for those who work with their hands and their brains

The Trade Union Movement in Western Europe

By I. KRAUSE

(Special correspondence to the American Federationist)

LEIPZIG, GERMANY.

THE strongest Belgian union in membership is the socialistic "Commission Syndicale de Belgique." The Syndicale Commission has a very close connection with the Belgian Working Party. Members of the Syndicale Commission belong to the central board of directors of the Working Party. It is, therefore, possible for the trade unions to use their influence in politics. On July 29, 1923, a great festival took place in Brussels on the occasion of the twenty-fifth foundation jubilee of the Syndicale Commission. In 1898 the membership of this Commission was 13,727; in 1913 it advanced to 126,714; at the end of 1919 it was 629,736; in the year of 1920 it still mounted to 718,410; and at the end of 1922 there were 618,871 members. The congress preceding the jubilee festivity was, above all, occupied with the question of working-time. It appealed to the workmen to struggle with all possible effort against each attempt to prolong working hours and to align themselves with the general introduction of the 8-hour working day for all workmen.

The congress approved the continuation of the previous efforts to join related craft unions, if possible, into one single association. Advice was then given about the legal introduction of workmen's councilors in all managements of trade and industry which employ not less than 20 persons. Their task is to be the carrying through of labor legislation, collective contracts, the manner of business and the regulation of the engaging or dismissal of workmen together with the employers.

For each district a special committee has to be founded and for the single industries, country committees are to be founded, consisting of members of the district committees. A similar organization is demanded for the employers. The two groups are to form a common board for commerce and industry and to join for common negotiations.

Regarding the question of family wages, the Syndicale Commission had sent a circular to all the joint union officials. Only the union of the functionaries was against the introduction of this question as a matter of principle. The congress resolved to get connection with the socialistic party in order to carry on the regulation of the family wages. At the same time a special educational campaign is to make this new demand clear to the workmen.

The congress of the Belgian "Confederation Generale des Syndicals Chretiens" (Federation of Christian Unions) was occupied with the same question in May, 1923. This federation which was not in existence before 1908, and which has a Wallonian and a Flemish section, has very quickly recovered from the great gaps which the war cut in its membership. At the beginning of 1920 this federation had 160,000 members and in 1922 more

than 200,000 members. The congress was of the opinion that the minimum wage of all workmen must suffice for an average family; that special extra payments, therefore, came only into question for extraordinarily large families. The question of family wages must be regulated by law, and the common administration of the additional allowances regulated by employers and employes. The question of additional allowances has also made great progress in France during the last years. During the war such allowances for children were introduced, but the result of it was that the employers preferred workmen without families, thereby diminishing their financial charges. Thereupon, in May, 1918, the metal industry of the Dauphine created a common cash office for which every manager, without taking notice of the families of his workmen, had to pay 10 francs monthly for each of his workmen. The cash office, with the aid of these contributions, gives a compensation to each employer for the sum total of the base salary paid monthly by him to his workmen. By this measure, the desire of the single manager to prefer workmen without or with small families is eliminated. This system has spread very much in the later years in France.

Towards the end of 1920 there were 57 cash offices with 500,000 workmen; at the end of 1922, 107 cash offices with 7,000 managers and 800,000 workmen; on July 1, 1923, 120 cash offices with 880,000 workmen. From the earliest times the French unions were unable to agree on a satisfactory arrangement with the employers.

More and more, however, the tendency was to try first if possible the means of a peaceful agreement. Obligatory courts of arbitration were refused by the trade unions of all tendencies.

A general strike as a means for the carrying through of demands soon won the sympathies of the French trade unions. Besides the strike, passive resistance was a favorite means of struggle.

The greatest union in number in France is the "Confederation General du Travail" (General Confederation of Labor). At the last congress of unions (which is held every other year in February), the statutes of the unions were thoroughly revised. It was agreed that general strikes of several or all industry branches could only be ordered by the C. G. T. resolution stopping work in all industries, is only then valid if approved by two-thirds of the votes of the represented trade unions according to their numerical importance and the kind of their industries. This majority of two-thirds must comprise such industries, which in consequence of their influence on the economic life of the country, as will render the strike effectual. The much disputed principle—one vote for each trade union, without any consideration of the number of members—has now been abandoned. The experience of the last years had shown that this principle had procured for the anarchists and communists a disproportionately great influence in the C. G. T. and that by it the entrance of the communists into the trade unions had been facilitated.

At the last congress they insisted as principles of the future activity of the C. G. T. in founding funds for people unemployed, increasing of the con-

tributions, assisting social reforms, especially changing the taxes on wages, giving directions for finding work, and nationalizing.

As to foreign politics, a close working arrangement with the International Federation of Amsterdam was resolved. Exact statistics about the number of members are wanting; at the end of 1923, however, the number is believed to have been 700,000.

In December, 1921, the left wing of the C. G. T. retired and founded a central organization of its own, the "Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire." Its activity as a trade union was much prejudiced by the quarrel about the question as to whether the C. G. T. U. should join the Moscow International, especially whether the joining should take place unconditionally, or only on condition that the communistic party acknowledge the independence of the trade unions. The foundation of a new International was also agreed to. At last, after long and violent combats had been fought out, not only with words, but occasionally with fists, it was resolved with about a three-fourths majority to join the Red International. The number of members is believed to amount to about 300,000.

In the last few years the Christian trade union movement has made great progress. Representatives of the numerous Christian workmen resolved upon the foundation of the "Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens" (Confederation of Christian Workers), at a congress in 1920. The Federation intends to be active on the basis of the Roman Catholic Church, yet other unions besides the Roman Catholic ones can also join. Further it wishes to render the trade unions, in any event, ready for combat by establishing cash offices for strikes, yet strikes must not take place before all the possibilities of a compromise have been taken into consideration. At the congress in May, 1923, resolutions were made about the carrying through of the 8-hour working day, preparations for a new social insurance, professional improvements and engagements of foreign workmen. The number of members totals 125,000.

In Spain the preliminary conditions for the trade union movement have been unfavorable at all times and they are still so. The right of organization is insufficient and the often changing governments are as a rule too much inclined to proceed by force and oppression against the trade unions. In November, 1922, a law was made which establishes the principles for organizing unions. In order to organize a trade union, the workmen of a craft or an industry must convene a meeting, which takes place under the presidency of a representative of the working ministry. The statutes as well as later amendments must be approved by government. A trade union must consist of at least 100 members and must comprise the majority of the workmen of the profession, industry or district and the majority must participate in the organization meeting, or else the trade union can not be organized. Trade unions of the same industry of different districts can unite to form one single federation. Trade unions can only possess property as far as this is necessary for offices, meeting places, and work shops to get instructions, hospitals and similar establishments. The pursuit of political

aims is prohibited, likewise commercial activity, except such as may be approved by employers.

Members of the trade unions who have been active at least five years in the profession or industry concerned may belong to the board of directors. The members must be 18 years old and Spaniards by nationality; they must be occupied in the trade concerned. The contributions of the members must be approved by government, which can also diminish them. These conditions were first in force in the province of Barcelona, the most industrial one; the decree, however, of a general trade union law is taken into consideration.

In Spain there are three federations of trade unions. The "Union General de los Trabajadores" (Federation of Trade Unions), approaches the socialistic party. The number of members in 1920 was 211,000; in July 1921, 240,000, and decreased to 208,000 in September, 1922. At the congress in November, 1922, the activity of the union during the last two years was related. It is chiefly directed against the reactionary measures of government and the economical crisis. The attempts to come to an agreement with the syndicalist trade unions of Barcelona, the "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo," (National Labour Confederation), and if possible to amalgamate both centers, were not crowned with success. Exact statements of the number of members of this federation are wanting in the last report.

At the congress of the German syndicalists, in 1919, their membership was stated as 350,000, yet in the opinion of many this statement is too high. The "Confederacion Nacional de Sindicatos Catolicos" (Federation of Catholic Trade Unions), numbers about 50,000 members.

Characteristic of the partiality of the new Spanish government to the trade unions is the following summons of the President of the Military Board of Directors, Primo de Rivera:

"The workmen are no more accustomed to work, have extraordinarily enhanced prices and thus have caused irreparable damages to the economics of the country. They must shake off the chains of the trade unions which pretend to procure advantages for them, but which in reality conduct them to ruin. Trade unions with the aim of improving and protecting workmen shall be permitted, but to be condemned are those unions which form the centers of resistance and prevent to produce. I hope that the Spanish workmen will obey this summons, so that it will not be necessary to fix work-time and wages by law."

And at the same time the employers were informed that government had the firm determination to maintain order and protect the employers in a far-reaching manner.

State federations, central bodies, all organized labor, sympathizers and humanitarians should do everything within their power for the ratification by their state legislatures of the humane amendment to save the child life of America.

American Labor Leads the World

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

A BRITISH government commission has just reported that American labor's real wages are two and a quarter times as large as those of British labor. This superiority of American labor's economic conditions may be due in part to our superior geographic situation and to the newness and size of our country. But it is due in large part to the superiority of American labor's economic organizations and political methods when compared to those of the European labor unions and Europe's so-called labor parties.

American labor does not claim to be of a superior breed; on the contrary, even more than the rest of our citizenship, laboring America is composed of ex-Europeans or the sons of ex-Europeans. It is precisely for this reason that our workers know all about the European movement and—urged by the ex-Europeans amongs us—have freely and gladly adopted everything that is best in the British or German organizations or political ideas and methods—so far as they are applicable in the United States.

And it is precisely because we have paid this willing tribute to the European movement, that British, German, French, Russian, Italian and Scandinavian labor leaders assume that they are our teachers and never weary in claiming that the backward American movement is following along in the wake of revolutionary Erope, that every point in which we differ shows our backwardness, not theirs, and that we are "fifty years" behind them—unless we take over their ways. It never occurs to these citizens of belated Europe that America, economically and politically, is far ahead of their unfortunate countries—and that our labor movement, just because it is free from the bribes of high political office and the costly volunteer leadership of high "intellectuals" is perhaps fifty years in advance of Europe.

To a statement of the British Laborite, J. H. Thomas, "Labor" has made the following crushing rejoinder:

In the opinion of "Labor" Mr. Thomas underestimates the results of the political activities of the American workers. "Labor" ventures the assertion that the American workers have as strong a grip on their Congress as the British workers have on their Parliament.

The American workers have not organized a Labor Party because they have found they could secure better results by working through the American primary system—a system which is unknown in Britain.

After all, results count, and measured by results the American workers can say with truth that they have achieved as much—politically and economically—as the workers of any other land.

American labor has accomplished more than British labor both as to political results and as to political method. In evolving effective means for using *all* parties for its purposes instead of losing its political independence and its political identity in one party, the American Federation of Labor has won the praise of Senator La Follete when he declares:

Your Executive Committee in stating the American Federation's political purpose says "Organized labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is not

partisan to any political party or group. It is partisan to principles, the principles of freedom, justice and democracy." It seems to me that in this brief paragraph you have set forth a creed of citizenship which if accepted and acted upon by the great body of common citizens would rapidly make the government of our country what it was intended to be, the people's own instrument of service.

Doubtless the day will come when European labor will adopt the same open-minded attitude to America as American labor has adopted for the last three-quarters of a century towards Europe. When European labor becomes sufficiently fraternal, sufficiently freed from tradition, and sufficiently emancipated from the theories and leadership of non-labor "intellectuals" to enter into this new path—and to continue in it for three-quarters, or a half, or perhaps a quarter of a century, it will have its eyes opened to the following undeniable facts:

(1) That American leadership of the world labor movement has proven that labor can not afford to admit non-labor "intellectuals" into leadership either in its economic or in its political organizations.

(2) That American labor experience has proven that both economic and political cooperation with all other groups of actual producers is indispensable.

(3) That American labor's achievements have demonstrated that this cooperation is to be secured not through Socialist parties or misnamed "labor" parties, but through the cooperation both on the economic and on the political field of organized labor with all other economic organizations of actual producers.

American labor has already assimilated this great principle; European labor will learn it sooner or later. But American labor will never be so cock-sure and conceited as to call upon European labor to follow in America's footsteps—and to join with out movement exclusively on our terms. European labor will learn from its own experience.

LABOR DAY

ED. O'DONNELL

Hush the wheels of industry throughout this broad, wide land,
Nor let the factory whistle call to toil a single hand;
Fling pick and hammer aside, boys—a time there is for play—
And even progress, too, must cease, at least on Labor Day.

But tyranny, not yet content, the more aggressive grew.
Till e'en the couching serf at length indignant ceased to sue;
And casting from his weary limbs the bonds of former sway,
The cadence of his manly tread is heard on Labor Day.

At length he sees and feels his power, yet modest he controls
The tempest that with mad intent within his bosom rolls;
A giant, like a giddy child, when granted leave to play,
To music's soothing melody he steps on Labor Day.

But, masters, pause! This tinsel show some day will find an end,
The pomp and pride of rainbow hues, a message doth intend,
That thoes who toil must eat as well—no longer now they pray—
A meaning deep and resonant vibrates on Labor Day.

In peace and calm MUST justice reign, proclaimeth every hearth,
But justice SHALL, though plunged in gore, its blessings yet impart,
And other men, and other times, while worshipping our clay
Will bless the pioneers who plead their cause on Labor Day.

THE MAGIC HAND OF LABOR



EDITORIALS

By
SAMUEL GOMPERS

Labor Day is the one holiday in all the year dedicated to humanity. It is a day set apart for the consideration of human problems and for rejoicing at progress made toward that better day for which we strive constantly.

**LABOR DAY,
1924**

Labor Day is a day on which the leadership of the trade union movement in the fight for human betterment is universally acknowledged and acclaimed.

There could be no Labor Day without Labor. There could be no Labor Day without Organized Labor.

Those who do not belong to the labor movement may here and there make speeches on Labor Day. Usually their speeches are unnecessary; and where they are helpful they are filled with a recounting of the services rendered by the Trade Union Movement.

Labor—Organized Labor—the Labor Movement—that is what makes Labor Day possible; that is what makes it real.

Labor Day was set apart as a holiday because Organized Labor demanded it. It was a recognition of Labor's right to celebrate its victories and to carry to all of the people its great message of hope and freedom.

On this Labor Day *talk Labor!* Do not anywhere permit Labor Day to be anything but *Labor Day*. Talk Labor, preach the great message of Labor, carry forward the message of human freedom and human aspiration as a *Labor* message.

Welcome the friends of Labor in all gatherings. Welcome these friends when they come with their support and their encouragement. But see that everywhere the day is observed as Labor Day.

The Labor Movement in America is a movement of wage earners, for wage earners, conducted by wage earners. It is a movement primarily for the protection and advancement of the rights and interests of the wage earners through trade union organization.

Let us observe Labor Day in the spirit of the Labor Movement. Let us blazon the message of trade unionism across the horizon. Let us give of its inspiration to those who are oppressed, who are without hope and whose souls are hungering. Let us unfurl its banners and sing its songs.

Labor Day is for Labor and Labor is striving to enlarge the life of the great masses of our people. Labor Day is for Labor and Labor fights the fight for all who are heavy laden.

Upward and Onward, this Labor Day, for humanity, for the right, for justice, for freedom and democracy, in the name of Labor, through our great Trade Union Movement!

Our Executive Council has approved the candidacies of Senator LaFollette and Senator Wheeler and every resource at our command will be used in the effort to bring about their election.

**WE ARE IN
TO WIN**

We have acted in strict accordance with our long-established policy of non-partisan political action. We have never endorsed a political party or organization, and we stand by that refusal in the present

instance. We have made it clear that between three candidacies for the presidency we find one distinctly preferable to the other two; and the same thing applies to the platforms.

We have protested against certain grave injunctions and inequalities year after year. The platform upon which Senator LaFollette and Senator Wheeler are candidates pledges definite action to correct those injustices and we propose to do what we can to make possible the correction of those economic injustices through their success at the polls.

It is no fantastic thing to look for the success of Senator LaFollette in the coming election. America is seething with protest against the machinations of Big Business, the betrayal of public trust and the lack of patriotic, constructive statesmanship in the two major parties. From these we have on the one hand a frank championship of reaction and on the other hand a cunning evasiveness which probably deceives not even the blindest partisans.

Our report will immediately be broadcasted to the entire labor movement. In fact, that already is in process of being done. Our system of non-partisan committees will be in action at once throughout the country. We are going to do our best to elect LaFollette and Wheeler. We believe the conscience of America is aroused to the need of a new deal in our national government and a new morality in public life generally.

Of equal importance to us is the congressional campaign. While the action taken here is in strict conformity with past policy, it does measurably broaden our field of action and we shall take full advantage of that fact. We are authorized to make known generally the records of members of congress and to give these records the widest publicity. Heretofore we have sent those records into each individual district. It will be our business now to appraise the whole country as to the attitude of all candidates for congress so that national attention may be centered on the congressional contest as a whole.

I want to emphasize the fact that our support of Senator La Follette and Senator Wheeler does not in any way or to any degree identify us with or commit us to doctrines advanced by any other group that may be supporting the same candidates. These candidates have the support of minority groups, in themselves of no great importance, with whose doctrines we not only do not agree, but with which we are and have been in the sharpest kind of disagreement. We shall continue to oppose those doctrines at all times.

We are in this fight, not to quibble with those who may help the cause, but to win a great victory for humanity, for democracy, for the great masses of the people of our country. Something far beyond the ordinary political issue is at stake. There is at stake the great and all-transcending issue of right against wrong—and we are for the right with all of the vigor which our great movement possesses.

Now that our report has been adopted, it may not be amiss to say that its general lines were agreed upon by the executive committee of the National Non-Partisan Campaign Committee at a meeting held at Brighton Beach on the day after the Democratic Convention adjourned, and informally we were certain of what our course would have to be some days before that—

the day we were able to have before us the Democratic and Republican platforms, to be exact. I say that so that it may be known that we have arrived at our position out of the logic of events and the records of men and parties, and not out of a series of assumed disagreements between ourselves. That, I think, should be made clear beyond any possibility of misunderstanding.

An outstanding example of the potentiality of social and economic forces as contrasted with political agencies was presented in the **WORLD POWER POTENTIALITIES** First World Power Conference held in London in the opening days of July. Wembley was a fitting background for such a conference emphasizing as it does material progress due to the utilization of mechanical power.

What might be termed the keynote speech of the conference was made by the Prince of Wales, who is the President of the Exposition Company, in which he said:

In the effort to create for industry, and especially power, what the League of Nations intends for politics, lies, I think, the true significance of the World Power Conference, and in the belief that something more fundamental than merely technical discussions will result, I extend a cordial welcome to the distinguished representatives here today.

The study of power, even if we consider the technical aspect, is still in a comparatively elementary stage, and no effort has hitherto been made to find out on what foundations our present industrial structure is built and what part power plays in this structure. It is difficult to conceive any modern industry where power in some shape or form does not play a part—steam, gas, oil or electricity, it forms the one great instrument in the possession of man by which he is capable of extracting from Nature everything of value that Nature can offer, and of converting this material wealth into something of immediate use.

As one expert says: "The social structure itself is, in a sense, bound up with the effective use of power for industrial purposes, and there are many reasons to support the view that the weakness of the social structure in an industrial state is due to inefficient or inadequate utilization of power. . . ."

We should find inspiration in the vision of more than 30 countries here contributing, each in its highest capacity, to the discussion of one subject of more than merely temporary importance. You are at grips with fundamentals, and from your deliberations will result the first enunciation of a policy applied internationally which may contribute very largely to the harmony and economic progress of the world. You have before you, in the reports submitted to the World Power Conference, the raw material for a survey of the power resources of the world; you can now explore many countries which have hitherto been veiled in mystery, and assess at their true value the possibilities of an immense industrial development in many of them; you may from this material, erect the structure which will go beyond the confines of one country, or group of countries, and include all those parts of the world where man can hope to prosper. International cooperation may emerge from the realm of the ideal into the realm of practical utilization as the result of your deliberations, and I sincerely trust that full success will attend them.

Power engineers of world-wide reputation were present. More than 300 papers were submitted. Almost every phase of power was considered: Data, resources, economic, financial, legal, governmental, development,

engineering, management, etc. There was one conspicuous defect in the organization of the conference and its program. Power is a public utility with a public service to render. The resources from which power is generated properly belong to the field covered by national conservation policies. Is it therefore socially or scientifically wise to permit private power companies and technical groups together with only carefully selected public officials to control world power discussions and agencies?

American labor called attention to the need for representatives of labor in such a conference and succeeded in having representatives appointed on the American Committee. Labor was represented in the conference by James P. Noonan, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and Timothy Healy, president of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

Mr. Noonan participated in the discussion which dealt with social phases of power. Wide publicity was given his statement of the position of American labor in which he urged better understanding between labor and employer, pointing out the handicaps from absence of agreement. Trade unions, he is reported to have said, can contribute as important functional service as professional organizations and should have similar recognition.

In concluding its sessions the conference adopted resolutions which included:

It is desirable that the work of the First World Power Conference shall be continued and that consideration shall be given to the advisability of forming a permanent institution at a later stage under such title as may be found best to fit to its activities.

Each country participating is invited to create and maintain a permanent National Committee, as far as possible representative of its interests in all aspects of power.

Each National Committee shall be entitled to appoint one delegate to represent it on the International Committee and such appointments shall be made within six months after the date of this memorandum.

The next meeting of the World Power Conference shall be held at a time and place to be determined by the International Committee, subject to the approval of the respective National Committees. So far as practicable future conferences should be held in different countries.

The proposal to establish a permanent world agency concerned with a problem of vital importance in the progress of the peoples of all countries, makes conspicuously important the need for having such a bureau representative of all groups and interests concerned. Certainly, all groups concerned in the production of power should be included in the personnel and social aspects of power problems should be included in discussions and determinations of findings.

The determining of principles and technique of control, is the primary and urgent need preliminary to developing method and standards for development of power undertakings in line with public service and welfare. Control is a social and public problem which will test social intelligence and efficiency to the utmost and hence organized society should be adequately

represented in the undertaking. Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame suggested to the London Power Conference:

The best form of regulation which the Government could adopt, where regulation was required, was to make increases of profit synchronize with reductions of charges to the public on an agreed scale.

The suggestion is good but should be broadened by provision assuring all concerned in production a right share in distribution of increased profits and also providing for development of power in accord with the best standards of national conservation and efficient engineering. Likewise organized labor will persist in the demands for full representation in the power industry as well as in power bureaus, as the only basis upon which it can render its cooperations necessary to industrial and social constructive development.

Privately owned monopoly as a political issue is bound to play a part in the present political campaign. It compels attention, directly or indirectly, in the political platforms. The Democratic party demands strict enforcement of the Sherman anti-trust law. The La Follete platform calls for use of the power of government to crush private monopoly, rather than foster it. The Republican platform propounds the good old doctrine of laissez faire, or leave things about as they are.

No political platform meets the thought of Labor on this great question of monopoly, and Labor, in considering platforms, could not and did not, make its analysis upon that issue alone. There are many issues, but this one is well worth special consideration at the outset in order that Labor's future course may be as clear as has been its past record.

The American Federation of Labor has demanded and will continue to demand the repeal of the Sherman anti-trust act. It can not hold with the Republicans that nothing needs to be done, but it would prefer the status quo to a tinkering process that would result in strengthening the anti-trust act or in creating new political machinery with which to burden Labor and industry without bringing real benefit to either.

Let it be set forth definitely here that Labor and industry are indivisible and inseparable. Labor, as such, may have interests that seem to clash with the interests of other factors in industry, but as a part of the great world of industry, labor, management, science, all share in the responsibility for the productivity and general well-being of industry and they are all bound up in its fate.

Labor can not go with the Democratic demand for strict and stern application of the Sherman law. The only strict and stern enforcement that act has yet had has been against Labor—and Labor confessedly and absolutely has had enough!

Labor has protested from time out of mind against being classed with dead, dull merchandise. Labor is not a commodity. The Democratic platform declares that Labor is not a commodity, but it cancels this lip service by demanding enforcement of a law which almost more than any

other has served to place Labor before the courts in the category of commodities.

Neither can American labor approve the demand for what is often termed government repression of monopoly. Labor's fight is not against combination in industry as such, but is against the evil influences which control great combinations and which are all too often exerted in our political, judicial and economic life.

Labor declares that the question of controlling monopoly and conserving the public welfare against abuses by monopoly can not be solved by the political state and almost every attempt so to solve it will lead to more abuse than remedy.

Doctors of philosophy may know the theory of setting broken bones, but when a bone is broken a surgeon is called.

Monopoly is in a sense a political problem—that is, it is a problem in which politicians may legitimately take an interest and political government may be helpful in bringing about remedial activity. But essentially monopoly is an economic problem—well might it be said, an industrial problem. The real remedy will one day be found right where the evil exists, within that very realm itself, and in no other.

Consider this vital fact: Government stands as the guarantor of the rights of private property. We shall have the institution of private property as long as our present form of government stands. Democracy rests upon the private ownership of property as much as upon any other basis.

The basis of monopoly, and of all large ownership, is in the institution of private property. There is no going back of that fact. It stands and all theorists will do well to remember it.

Starting on that basis, ownership submits to natural forces at work in the field of industry. These natural forces make for constantly enlarging units of production and constantly enlarging organizations for production and distribution. Some of this enlargement is undoubtedly devised also to enlarge profits. But basically it is all, so far as it is sound and lasting, in accord with changing methods of production and devised to secure economy of production, volume of production and facility of distribution. It is economically sound. It is in response to a normal and natural demand for methods that fit the requirements of men and machinery.

The United States Steel Corporation is called a trust. It is a production machine of tremendous worth to the people of America. It was built to work and it does work. The Supreme Court, wiser than platform builders, found a way to allow it to live. It was good strategy, too, for it saved the government the humiliation of an unenforceable decree.

Henry Ford, in a national advertising campaign, is frankly telling all America of his great combination of production units—a horizontal trust, including mines, forests, mills, smelters, railroads, ship lines and factories. Here is a machine which came into being in response to a natural demand. It is a wonderful economic machine for economical production. Ford knows this and he is doubtless advertising the explanation of its sound

merits in order to build up a public understanding that will be too wise to attack it destructively.

Whatever platform builders may say, it is too late in the economic day to go out with a broom to sweep back the tide. The tide was started when steam power was discovered, hastened when steam was harnessed to machine pulleys, accelerated when Ben Franklin flew his kite into electricity and fame, and given irresistible force when the modern factory system stood forth in full flower. On this tide we go on to better things, or in it we go down to destruction.

We can not turn back the tide but we can ride it.

The proper sphere of government in helping toward beneficial results is to find and furnish information, to get at and make known the facts, to encourage and insist upon development within industry of machinery which will take from invested wealth its dictatorial power over policies of production, employment and public relations. There is a normal course which must be pursued, just as there always is where life and its perpetuation are concerned. The government may be helpful, but it can not take over the task, without spoiling the whole effort.

The American labor movement will resist at all times every effort at governmental coercion, every effort of government blindly to go counter to the natural and evolutionary forces that are at work where life has its being and its sustenance. Labor is concerned with life, while government too often sees only formulas.

In this issue there is bound up the whole contest between governmentalism and individual and group freedom, between free industry and state socialism. Labor is for freedom, for the normal, rational things—for the utmost of freedom and fullness for life and life forces. Let politicians give heed to these thoughts.

William (the astute) Butler, President Coolidge's campaign manager, told the newspapers not long ago that so far as he could perceive, the oil issue had disappeared from the list of things to worry about in the present campaign. Mr. Butler couldn't see the oil issue any more. It had "blown over," he said.

It was the hope of the politicians from the beginning that the oil issue would "blow over" before the campaign got well under way. It was their hope that the people would forget. The people are so accustomed to forget that the politicians regularly count upon their continuance in that direction.

But perhaps the oil issue is an exception to the rule. Perhaps the people won't forget this time. Perhaps they will remember that the national domain was looted by a gang of big thieves whose looting was limited only by the time and acreage which they found within their grasp.

There is a most pertinent question that should have been put to Mr. Butler when he made his statement about the fading significance of the oil scandal. It is this:

Why should Mr. Butler want the oil scandal to cease being an issue?

**A WISH
FATHER TO THE
THOUGHT**

And this: Why was he so evidently glad that the oil scandal was "blowing over"?

Labor has no desire to present the oil scandal as a partisan issue. It has no desire to pin any particular party label on those who trafficked in the nation's naval oil reserves. But when the spokesman for a great political party talks as Mr. Butler talked that spokesman comes very near to pinning his own party label on the specter.

But whatever may have been Mr. Butler's lack of accuracy, or lack of sagacity, in his statement, the public has not forgotten that something more than political affiliation was at the bottom of the oil looting. There was the bond of fellow craftsmanship. The oil buzzards went after the navy's oil, not because they were Republicans, and not because they were Democrats, but because they were buzzards. Nor was it anything inherently Republican that made Albert B. Fall such a willing accomplice. It happened that the gang in office and the gang outside were of the same stripe—and they played the game together. And there was nothing in the morality of either party that made their conduct particularly reprehensible, unless they got caught, as they were caught.

If the thing was partisan at all it was bi-partisan. It carried the well known "spoils of office" doctrine of both parties just a step farther.

Prison terms will not adequately punish the conduct of the oil looters. Surely it will not constitute restitution. The greatest thing that can come out of the oil scandal, or as a result of it, will be a new morality in public office. Unless there is that, little will have been gained by punishing a few guilty individuals. There must be a renunciation of the whole principle involved in using public office and public trust for private gain and advancement. There must be a high dedication in public office.

Mr. Butler's typical ward politician announcement that the oil scandal has "blown over" is about as hard boiled as anything that has yet been said in this campaign. It does not constitute that new dedication of political servants to the public welfare which is essential to American well-being. It is still the political cynic at work—and the day of the political cynic has passed, as Mr. Butler will soon learn, for it will come to pass that his pronouncement is simply the wish which is father to the thought.

The week beginning November 17 will be observed by the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion and the National Education Association as National Education Week. This will be the fifth annual observance of such a week. Particularly interesting in relation to the event this year is the fact that Monday, November 17, has been set aside as American Constitution Day. And it is a happy coincidence that the 1924 convention of the American Federation of Labor will begin on the opening day of education week, November 17.

**THE U. S.
CONSTITUTION—
STUDY IT**

It is to be hoped that labor organizations everywhere will participate in the observance of every day during education week, but it will be particularly profitable for them to take particular note of American Constitution

Day. In the first place, every American citizen and every person who hopes to become an American citizen ought to be thoroughly familiar with the American Constitution and ought also to have an understanding of the background which produced that Constitution and of the convention at which it was prepared and by which it was adopted. There should be an understanding of the conflicting views which struggled for supremacy in the constitutional convention and prior to the convention and of the manner in which the organic law of our representative democracy finally triumphed.

To study and understand the Constitution of the United States is not merely to peruse the lines of a venerable document. It is to know and understand the meaning of a live instrument which plays a part in many of the great issues of the present hour. Only those who understand the constitution are equipped to form an intelligent opinion as to whether the Supreme Court does or does not possess the right to declare unconstitutional laws enacted by Congress. Only they can be fully equipped to form an intelligent opinion on the questions of a constitutional amendment to deprive the Supreme Court of its power to so declare laws unconstitutional.

An understanding of the Constitution is necessary to an intelligent opinion on the ever acute issue of state rights as opposed to increasing centralized powers in the hands of the Federal government. The question of regulation and control of monopoly has its vital relations to the Constitution. It is necessary to know the Constitution in order to know what Congress may or may not do. It is necessary to know the Constitution in order to know what the Executive may or may not do. It is necessary to know the Constitution in order to have a thorough grasp of the great question of usurpation of power by the courts—a question which involves the injunction and consequently the liberty of action of millions of American wage earners.

The Constitution is the organic law of the organized political system under which we live. It must be understood, if there is to be intelligent citizenship and intelligent participation in the life of our time. For these reasons organizations of wage earners everywhere are urged to participate actively in American Constitution Day and in the entire program of education week. Wherever possible the viewpoint of labor in connection with the American Constitution should be presented in public programs on American Constitution Day.

There is pending before the state legislatures a constitutional amendment empowering Congress to regulate or prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. There are reasons why this amendment to the constitution is necessary and they are found in the constitution itself. It was in the constitution that the Supreme Court though expressing sympathy with the purpose of the law, twice found its justification for annulling child labor laws enacted by Congress.

Participate everywhere in this educational undertaking. Participate for the benefit of labor and for the future enlightenment of all of our people!

It is difficult to find in the annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union anything more than a continued defense of the revolutionary propaganda and a continued attack on the American Federation of Labor and its President. Because the American Federation of Labor has stood steadfast in opposition to recognition of the soviet dictatorship and because it has defended itself against assassination at the hands of the reds, the American Civil Liberties Union snarls and snaps at the A. F. of L. at every opportunity.

There are those who do not yet understand that the American Civil Liberties Union is something very much different than its name implies. It is among the most active defenders of red activity in America. If any red propaganda scheme fails the Civil Liberties organization is plunged into mourning. If the American Federation of Labor declines to allow its own destruction, the American Civil Liberties Union becomes angry.

From the report which covers the year 1923, the following paragraph is taken:

The organized anti-red agitation was confined to a few outbursts from Samuel Gompers, one from Ellis Searles of the United Mine Workers, and the persistent, petty nagging of Messrs. Ralph M. Easley of the National Civic Federation, R. M. Whitney of the American Defense Society, and William J. Burns of the Department of Justice.

The clear effort is to attempt to associate the names of the president of the American Federation of Labor with the disreputable Burns and over the shoulder of the president, the Federation itself. It is typical of the Civil Liberties Union policy. The charge has been made a great many times that the American Civil Liberties Union was much more interested in the furtherance of red propaganda and in the defense of red propagandists than in legitimately supporting the cause of free speech, free assemblage and free press.

Whatever hampers red propaganda is "repression." The animus of the Civil Liberties Union against bona fide organizations of labor and their representatives is shown in the following further extracts from the report:

Then followed in the spring an attack by Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor on the American Fund for Public Service as aiding revolutionary movements, and in which the Civil Liberties Union was conspicuously played up. Dr. Ward challenged the accuracy of the Publicity Service of the American Federation of Labor in those and other references to the Civil Liberties Union. A long correspondence ensued between Chester M. Wright, director of that Publicity Service and Dr. Ward, in which Dr. Ward made it perfectly clear that the Service was too prejudiced to be reliable in its statements about radicals and about civil liberty.

In September the newspapers throughout the country carried very generally a series of articles on the "reds" by Ellis Searles, editor of the *United Mine Workers' Journal*, in which the activities of the Civil Liberties Union were largely featured. It has since been proven that the articles which appeared over Mr. Searles' signature had been prepared in large part by a former publicity man for the coal operators.

It need only be said in comment that the assertions made by the president of the American Federation of Labor in his detailed arraignment of the American Fund for Public Service, more generally known as "The Garland

Foundation," were never successfully challenged by Dr. Ward, or anyone else. Propagandists usually are slow to learn that facts have an uncomfortable way of refusing to disappear. They refused to disappear in this case. Evidence which even the Civil Liberties propagandists must admit is authentic, is found in the annual report itself, showing conclusively how overwhelmingly the effort of that organization is devoted to the defense of red propagandists and organizations of "reds," whose avowed purpose is the destruction and overthrow of the American Federation of Labor as a condition precedent to the destruction of the American republic.

The American Civil Liberties Union does not deserve the support of American trade unionists, but it does most certainly deserve the support of every communist propagandist and of every enemy of the American Federation of Labor and of the American republic.

The communists, the red propaganda, the parlor bolsheviks and the whole crew of them have been exposed in recent months and driven from their several bases of boring from within. They may now be considered as outside of the ramparts of the militant organized labor movement of America. Their situation is fairly well described by a recent popular song—"Sittin' in a Corner," sorrowing over the fact that their days of boring from within are over.

A report has just been issued by the Coal Storage Committee of the American Engineering Council in which proper storage of coal is recommended as a means of stabilizing the industry and eliminating the so-called panic prices.

**MINES, MINING
AND JUSTICE**

This is but one of many important services performed by the American Engineering Council and but one of many outstanding examples of disinterested public service and of the value of the engineering mind to the community in general.

More than 400 engineers in various communities throughout the country participated in making the survey upon which the report was based. The following paragraph, from a statement issued in conjunction with the report, by John Hayes Hammond presents the argument for storage—an argument which is not likely to meet with successful contradiction:

The solution undoubtedly lies in greater storage. A reasonable accumulation in storage will permit of more even production throughout the year, deflation of the coal industry, continuous employment of labor, relief of congestion on railroads during their maximum demand season, removal of the "feast or famine" conditions among consumers and many other allied troubles that are now felt as coal takes its course from mine to point of combustion. The fears of loss by the consumer have been studied by the committee and largely dispelled.

While the benefits of proper storage undoubtedly would be great and while few, if any, will care to controvert that argument, it is at the same time, necessary to quarrel with any conclusion that storage will constitute a solution of the coal problem, or for that matter of any major phase of the coal problem.

It will be, if it can be carried into effect, an important factor in bringing

relief to the consumer and regulating employment for the miner, but it is extremely doubtful that any greater result than there will follow.

The evils of the mining industry, however, go far beyond the irregularity of production. There is laid upon the consumers of coal a heavy burden through the royalty system. We have to contend, not merely with ownership which manages unwisely, but we have to contend with a system under which frequently ownership is one thing, while operation on a royalty basis is another thing. And that means that there must be an added profit to meet the royalty.

The Girard estate is an example. The great mining properties of the Girard estate were acquired for a song. This ownership is held in perpetuity with an iron grip. Girard College is a splendid institution, but the royalties which it derives from coal mining constitute a tax upon the people who burn coal. The mines were bought for a pittance, but the royalties of today have no relation to that original cost and they will go on and on, like Tennyson's brook, taking toll year after year.

That is the root of a real evil. No regulation of the flow of coal can reach that wrong. And we can not yet look to the mining industry to cut deep in the effort to bring justice into the work of mining and distributing coal—and to get that coal to the users of coal at an equitable cost upon a basis equitable to all.

The mining industry is not yet organized on a basis which promotes public service, the establishment of business ethics or the elimination of bad practices. There is in the mining industry, so far as the owners and employers are concerned, a certain degree of organization, but the bond which holds that organization together has not yet sufficiently emerged from the greed stage to make advisable any great immediate hope for measures calculated to improve the conduct of the industry. The coal industry is still organized, in so far as it is organized at all, around the concepts of the long ago. Mine owners can unite with fair success in a contest with the miners' union. They can unite with much success in keeping up the price of coal. They have not yet developed that enlightened selfishness which makes it possible for them to unite in the removal of abuses or in measures to stabilize either production or prices or to get together in any formidable program of that public service which must some day characterize the coal industry.

Perhaps the recommendations of the American Engineering Council may help to develop in the coal industry that understanding of public needs and that response to the demand for equitable public service for which exploited miners and exploited consumers have long clamored with so meager results.

There have been many commissions and many recommendations. Beneficent results have been noticeable only by their absence.

There is still much chaos in the coal industry—much of the idea that it is right to tear up the earth's treasure and exploit it without any feeling of responsibility for the present or the future. In many industries there has been that same feeling of reckless irresponsibility—a feeling that the industry

was a battle field on which all tactics were fair. It existed in railroading, where it is being rapidly replaced by higher standards. It existed in the steel industry, almost without limit, in earlier days. There, too, it is disappearing, though slowly. It existed and still exists to a degree in the lumber industry. Rich resources were available in abundance; therefore get as much as possible without regard to consequences now or in the future. Slash and profit! But the lumber industry is finding more stable profits in better methods.

So it must be with coal. The industry has got to develop conscience, responsibility, an ideal of service, and above all a machinery for more democratic functioning, in which the voice that calls to service can be heard, in which the voice that calls for profits regardless of results can be outvoted.

Storage of coal to steady the market is a good thing. It is obviously a good thing. But there is not likely to be successful storage to a sufficient degree without the active cooperation of mine owners who up to this point have shown no inclination to regard the public interest as entitled to consideration.

Interesting information concerning progress being made in standardization of production methods comes from Czechoslovakia, through an article published in the *Bulletin of the Taylor Society*, for 1924. The article was written by Frank B. Gilbreth and Lillian M. Gilbreth. The admiration which President Masaryk has had for American institutions and the high regard he has had for the American trade union movement has long been known. His opportunity to observe at close range during his long residence in the United States, and to profit by experiments and criticisms in connection with so-called scientific management in this country, is clearly reflected in the report published by the Taylor Society.

"In Czechoslovakia the leadership in standardization is held by the Masaryk Academie of Labor," says this report. "This has been functioning along lines allied with scientific management for only a short time. During 1922 and 1923 the work was largely educational. This has been so successful that they are now pressing forward to more intensive standardization. With the approval of President Masaryk and under the direction of an enormous number of scientists of first rank, work processes are intensively studied and the results put at the disposal of the entire community. Around the table gather, with an equal voice in the proceedings, psychologists, physiologists, economists, sociologists, engineers, employers and workers, with the work tools at hand, with the work processes demonstrated—all endeavoring to find the One Best Way for each work process for the individual worker involved with his available tools and material. The wealth, the resources, the brains, the interest, and the cooperation of all Czechoslovakia stands back of this work."

American trade unionists have had their experience with scientific management. Not only they, but a great many of the promoters of various

schools of scientific management, have come to understand that there is a tremendous difference between true scientific management and the abominable speeding-up system which first came to public attention under the name of scientific management. The speeding-up system—and the Taylor system in the earlier days was the leader in that class—is a device forced upon the workers for the sole purpose of high speed production, regardless of its effect upon those who operate the machines.

True scientific management has for its goal the systematization of production methods, the elimination of losses and waste in production and the safe-guarding of every human element, so that the benefits are distributed in every direction instead of solely in the direction of the employer.

There can be no complete realization of scientific management or of scientific production methods unless the wage earners are consulted, and unless every step taken is with their approval and cooperation. It is gratifying to find that these truths are evidently understood in connection with the Czechoslovakian researches in the field of scientific management. It will doubtless come as something of a surprise to a certain type of American employers to learn that in the Czechoslovakian experiments the workers participate at every step, in connection with all others who serve actively and usefully in the conduct of industry.

It would be interesting to have a more adequate account of what is taking place with psychologists, physiologists, economists, sociologists, engineers, employers and workers, "around the table with an equal voice in the proceedings."

If the proceeding is as represented it may be taken as assured that Czechoslovakia as a nation, and the Czechoslavs as a people, are not going to lag behind the rest of the world, either in their production methods, in their accumulation of national wealth, or in their protection and development of the individual and his material and ethical welfare.

Great issues are at stake in this campaign struggle.

The enemies of Labor want to crush Labor.

They want anything but freedom of Labor.

Sanctify your vote!

The issue is Progress versus Reaction.

This is no time for any man or woman of Labor to hold back.

This is a time for the fullest giving of effort. This is a time for work.

Play your part in the campaign. Register in your voting precinct.

Do everything that you would do if your personal freedom hung on the issue.

Progress is at stake—and for Progress we must give everything.

The American Federation of Labor has no votes to deliver nor does it dictate how the toilers shall vote. They have justice and freedom for which to contend and they will vote as their interests, welfare and intelligence direct.

Heading West

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

Here is a fact which nobody will dispute: Labor Day falls on the first Monday in September, which this year is the first day of that month.

Therefore, things must be said about Labor Day, and there is enough to be said.

Many persons will tell of the things that happened since last this day was observed, and since this writer is, at the moment at least, more prone to dally with fancy than with fact, let us leave that realm severely alone.

Labor Day in America comes in September. In Europe they don't have any Labor Day. Those in America who clamor for the "revolution" wish we didn't have any Labor Day either.

They agree with the leaders of labor in Europe in preferring fervid oratory on May 1 to discussing solid achievement in September.

What a queer world it is. Some folks don't ever want to eat their cake. Rather do they prefer to go through life speculating on how doggone good that cake would be if they could eat it.

* * *

May and September Mean Different Things.

OUT of feudalism in Europe came the habit among workers of talking in whispers about abuses that they didn't dare do anything openly about in the old days.

So ingrained was the habit of talking softly and secretly among themselves that when at last they could talk openly they had the talk habit fixed definitely upon them. They must talk for talk's sake.

Perhaps there are Europeans who will dispute that statement, but dispute gets nowhere when the facts are clear.

The German socialists of the early days in America, out of pure force of habit, held their meetings mostly in dark and secluded places.

European labor has run strong to oratory. This is true particularly of the Europeans of Latin and Slavic blood—more so of the Latins, perhaps.

Mouth-filling phrases, supposed to shake the earth and set plutocracy gasping, even yet ring out upon every occasion. An American labor speech is a flat affair, when delivered from the platform of the French. It is even a flat affair, when compared to a corking good Mexican labor speech.

Maytime, when spring is in the air, when responsibility lays its hand least heavily upon the human heart, when whatever soul stirrings there be get in their most

unsettling work, is the time par excellence for the fervor of oratory. That's the time to sing the glad songs that make men forget the real squalor of their lives, the meagerness of their homes. That's the time to take them on cloud pilgrimages where they may envision the goodness of all things—and in beholding them forget that they don't possess them.

September is the calmer month. There's a tang in the air that sharpens judgment. Realities loom up more clearly and surely. Things are weighed more carefully. Facts get their innings.

In September men are more likely to say, "Watchman, what of the night," while in May there are more concerned with the amours of life, the garlands and the songs.

In Europe they have a festival day, only vaguely a day on which the workers voice their aspirations and their protests. Millions have no consciousness that May Day has any significance except that found in the exuberance of youth, with winter past and June enroute. In America we have a definite Labor Day and no one mistakes its meaning. We like it so.

* * *

Here Comes Something With the Sound of Sense

A QUOTATION finds its way in from somewhere, under the title, "Proposal of the Building Industry in Great Britain." Who proposes it, whether

it comes from one side or the other, or from both sides, I do not know.

But it has about it the ring of sound sense and it is worth reading. It is this:

"It sounds across the whole industrial arena, the trumpet call of a new idea—The conception of our industry as a great self-governing democracy of organized public service. We have endeavored, we hope successfully, to outline the true foundation for such a consummation, namely: Freedom and security for initiative and enterprise; complete removal of the fear of unemployment; salaries to management commensurate with ability; hire of capital at the market rate of good securities; provision of common services controlled by the whole industry and financed from its surplus earnings.

* * * We should again lay special emphasis upon the keynote of our work, the development of the 'team spirit' in industry, which we believe to be the only real solution of the whole problem of production."

The trumpet call of a new idea, to be sure. But long ago the American Federation of Labor sent out that trumpet call to all the world.

We shall not plunge over night into "a great self-governing democracy of organized public service," nor into a great democracy in industry, but each day sees some faltering step of progress—and what more need be said?

* * *

The Soviets Are Stealing Barnum's Stuff

P. T. BARNUM taught the world a good many things. We still quote him as an authority on the birth rate of gullibles. For flambuoyancy we still refer to the files of his early circus posters. He has left a lasting imprint on our national life in many respects.

We know, having learned it from Barnum, that if we are to get anywhere we have got to say that whatever we are for is the biggest, the most stupendous, the most magnificent, the most splendid, the most sumptuous, and so on. Or we must ring the changes with adjectives about superlative courage, or exclusiveness of species, or something like that.

If we want to "get by" whatever we are talking about must require bigger figures

than are required for anything else, more adjectives than are required to describe anything else. We must excite curiosity, horror, admiration or some other kind of sensation—and we must do it with a bang.

It is not a horse and carriage that goes down the street. It is a magnificently caparisoned equipage, drawn by a milk white steed of marvelous spirit, just captured by an Arab prince of the blood.

A few days ago the soviet officials at Moscow turned loose upon a gasping world the statement that American farmers are on the verge of revolt and that 2,000,000 (count 'em) of them are giving up their land in despair—just giving it up and going away from it.

Two million farmers giving up their land! The soviets are stealing Mr. Barnum's stuff and we protest.

* * *

The Royal British Lion Helps Brother Trotsky

NOTWITHSTANDING the howls of pain which emanate periodically from the soviet authorities about the cruelty of the bourgeois world, the soviets somehow get from that cruel world all they can pay for and without any other hindrance than that occasioned by the production of the quid proquo.

For example, the soviets go to England and get a contract with the British Royal Mint which calls for the minting of 40,000,000 pieces of soviet half ruble coins, to be made with dies and stamps furnished by the soviet mint.

Thus does the British Lion grind out coins bearing the revolutionary Communist slogan. Whatever the British Lion thinks when he thinks all to himself about this transaction we are not permitted to know, for under the adroit tutelage of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald the Lion is learning a new diplomacy, of which, mayhap, a cardinal clause is to make your right eye stop winking at what your left eye sees on the promenade.

The soviets have cried many tears, which we suspect were mostly glycerine, about the hard-hearted American government that wouldn't recognize the soviets so they could trade with America. The American government has replied that there is no bar to trade. The soviets have argued to

the contrary, as a part of their propaganda.

But the soviets prove what America has said. They prove it by loading a ship at New Orleans with 19,900 bales of cotton, part of a total purchase of 200,000 bales, to be sent to Murmansk. The total consideration is \$35,000,000 and the New York Commercial Bank guarantees payment. Thus again does a hated institution of capitalism help along the revolutionary soviets. This may or may not be a dignified business for capitalist banks, but neither capitalist banks nor revolutionary soviets care who helps them get what they want when they want it.

* * *

Perhaps Henry's Editorials Also Are Fabricated

HERE comes an editorial in the *Dearborn Independent* - of - everything - in the - world - except - Henry - Ford - its-proud-owner picking up the clap-trap of Senator King in denouncing the child labor amendment.

Senator King made a speech in which he said the amendment was communistic, bolshevistic, etc. It was a great speech for a United States Senator, though it would have been a feeble effort for a junior high school boy. King set forth that the amendment would transfer to the federal government the power which the bolshevik government (so-called) now exercises over the children of Russia.

Ford's paper picks up this choice remark, with its attendant attenuation, and makes much of it. The result is a real flivver editorial, coughing along on about two, with the two somewhat uncertain themselves.

The child labor constitutional amendment will, when ratified, make it impossible for greedy employers to exploit childhood, providing congress enacts legislation authorized by the amendment.

Of itself the amendment does nothing; it merely authorizes legislation to forbid or regulate the employment of children. It gives the federal government no control over children. It frees the children for school, for a chance to grow and become strong and healthy in mind and body.

Henry Ford makes better automobiles than editorials.

Introducer Turns Apologist

THOMAS J. WALSH was billed to introduce John W. Davis at Clarksburg, where Mr. Davis obligingly went to be told that he was the winner of the Great War in Madison Square Garden.

Mr. Walsh's cue was to get up smilingly and announce about as follows: "Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to introduce to you upon this occasion the Honorable John W. Davis, who will, etc., and than whom, etc."

Mr. Walsh was all het up for a different brand of output, however, and so he launched into an apologia. He told his hearers that John W. Davis was John W. Davis and that it was all right for a lawyer to be a Wall Street lawyer if the lawyer thought he could be honest and be a Wall Street lawyer at the same time and while wearing the same clothes, or words to that effect.

Mr. Walsh had chased a number of Wall Street lawyers all around the lot but a few weeks prior to the Clarksburg event and he was supposed to be an authority on the species and to have them all listed carefully in the same book.

Down at Clarksburg, however, Mr. Walsh conceived it to be his solemn duty to let the people in on some sub rosa stuff, to wit, that one name in particular didn't belong in the book with the other Wall Street lawyers, that name, specifically being the name of John W. Davis. Mr. Davis had waded right through the middle of Wall Street, but he came out without any mud on his shoes. That was the burden of the apology which Introducer Thomas J. Walsh confided to a palpitating public. And we are just all excited and everything about it!

* * *

Secret Diplomacy Fools the Credulous

"THE London treaties are a blow to American diplomacy," runs an editorial in the Hearst papers.

The London treaties referred to are the so-called treaties between the soviets and the Ramsay MacDonald government.

There have been few bigger international jokes than the soviet-MacDonald agreements.

The London conference was about to

break up in a row. Nothing essential had been agreed upon. But rather than break up the show, the principals agreed to agree upon a disagreement and to settle the disagreement some other time, if possible. That is essentially what the London agreement means.

But as long as there are those who are either willing or anxious to be fooled by the soviets and their friends, the soviets and their friends will be willing to do the fooling.

Incidentally, and in passing, the Ramsay MacDonald foreign policy is just as truly

British as the foreign policy of an Asquith or a Lloyd George and those who knew the British Labor Party as a political organization knew this long before Mr. MacDonald was slipped into the prime minister's chair.

America does well to maintain its sound policy regarding the soviets. The American policy is not based on hoped-for trade, as is the British policy. The American policy is based upon fundamental principles of democracy and human freedom, and while we stick to those we shall be right and safe.

Conventions of International Unions, 1924

September 1-14, Saratoga Springs, N. Y., Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union

September 8, Kansas City, Mo., International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

September 8-15, New York City, United Textile Workers of America.

September 8-13, Detroit, Mich., International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

September 8-15, St. Louis, Mo., Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

September 8-18, Montreal, Canada, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

September 8-18, Kansas City, Mo., International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

September 8-22, Indianapolis, Ind., United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

September 9-19, Indianapolis, Ind., Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America.

September 12-16, Kansas City, Mo., International Association of Fire Fighters.

September 15, Detroit, Mich., International Association of Machinists.

September 15-22, ———, United Brick and Clay Workers of America.

October 7-10, ———, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

CONVENTIONS OF THE STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

1924

STATE	PLACE	TIME.	NUMBER DAYS.
ARIZONA.....	Not yet selected.....	October 13.....	2-3
CALIFORNIA.....	Santa Barbara.....	September 22.....	1 week.
CONNECTICUT.....	Hartford.....	September 2.....	4
ILLINOIS.....	Peoria.....	September 8.....	1 week.
KENTUCKY.....	Middlesboro.....	September 12.....	3
MISSISSIPPI.....	Jackson.....	September 8.....	3
NEBRASKA.....	Hastings.....	September 2.....	3-4
NEW HAMPSHIRE.....	Berlin.....	September 16.....	3
NEW JERSEY.....	Paterson.....	September 8.....	3
OHIO.....	Springfield.....	September 8.....	4-5
OKLAHOMA.....	Muskogee.....		3
OREGON.....	Eugene.....	October.....	4
SOUTH CAROLINA.....	Columbia.....	September 15.....	2
SOUTH DAKOTA.....	Mitchell.....	September 14.....	
UTAH.....	Salt Lake City.....	September 10.....	3
WEST VIRGINIA.....	Wheeling.....	September 8.....	4
WYOMING.....	Cheyenne.....	Not decided.....	4



OFFICIAL



To all organized labor, its friends and sympathizers:
DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS:

With the issues clearly marked out and the lines of battle drawn, we call upon the great masses of the people of our Republic to rally with all of their energy and strength to the cause of progress, justice, freedom and democracy.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has reviewed the records of parties and candidates in the presidential contest and it has declared its findings without hesitation or equivocation.

The platform and records of the Hon. Robert M. La Follette and the Hon. Burton K. Wheeler, Independent candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency, have been declared to more nearly than any other, conform to the needs and desires of the great masses of our people and the organized wage earners and farmers in particular.

The American Federation of Labor proposes to engage in this campaign with its full resources. Political campaigns can not be conducted without the expenditure of money and effort. For that reason we call upon trade unions and trade unionists, friends and sympathizers and forward looking men and women generally throughout our Republic to contribute immediately and as generally as possible to the work of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee. Our contributions must come from the great rank and file. Our battle is the battle of the people and it must be financed by the people. We have neither the desire nor the opportunity to avail ourselves of the large contributions of the vested interests. We are in opposition to those interests, fighting against them for the freedom of the people and for justice to the people in every respect.

Campaign work will be begun immediately. The National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee already has begun to organize the forces for the struggle. We call upon all state federations of labor, all city central bodies and all local unions immediately to appoint non-partisan political campaign committees to carry on the work of the campaign and to report the names of the chairman of each committee to the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.

We particularly call upon national and international unions to assign the largest possible number of organizers to work throughout the campaign under the direction of this committee and to authorize those organizers to report to this committee at the earliest possible moment. It

should be specified as to whether these organizers are experienced as public speakers and as many as possible who are so qualified should be assigned to this important work.

The American labor movement should and can have at work more effective workers than any other element in this national campaign. It should and can have more public speakers on the platform than any other organized force in this campaign.

The American labor movement should and can contribute more effectively than any other organized body to the great work of spreading the literature of the campaign and awakening the people generally to the great issues of the time.

We call upon every trade union organization to act at once, either in regular meeting or in special meeting if necessary. There is no time to lose.

Our struggle is for economic and moral righteousness. We are contending against those hostile to the peoples' interests and against two powerful organizations which are defenders, advocates and apologists of great special interests and privilege. Against this great organized force of special interest we place the moral force of an aroused and determined people.

Communications containing advice and counsel, as well as information, will be forwarded at frequent intervals from the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee to all state city and local union committees and to others who give service in this great effort.

In the immediate future advice and information concerning candidates for the United States Senate and the House of Representatives will be forwarded, in order that there may be complete unity of action in every direction.

Respond immediately with contributions of money. These should be sent to Frank Morrison, Secretary, National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Respond immediately with the appointment of non-partisan committees in all of the state federations of labor, in the one thousand central bodies and in the 30,000 local trade and labor unions, throughout America.

Privilege has thrown down to us a double challenge. Let us take up that challenge in all of the proud consciousness of right and in that spirit let us engage in battle for the right—for freedom, for justice, for democracy, for government by and for the people, for a better nation and a better manhood, womanhood and childhood. Ours is the great opportunity, ours is the great duty.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Chairman,*
JAMES O'CONNELL,
MATTHEW WOLL,
FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary,*

Executive Committee,
American Federation of Labor National
Non-Partisan Political Campaign
Committee.

EL PASO CONVENTION CALL!

Labor Omnia Vincit

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
A. F. OF L. BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUGUST 18, 1924.

To All Affiliated Unions, Greeting:

You are hereby notified that, in pursuance of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the Forty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held at Liberty Hall, El Paso, Tex., beginning 10 o'clock Monday morning, November 17, 1924, and will continue in session from day to day until the business of the convention shall have been completed.

Representation

Representation in the convention will be on the following basis: From national or international unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates; 64,000 or more, six delegates; 128,000 or more, seven delegates, and so on; and from central bodies and state federations, and from local trade unions not having a national or international union, and from federal labor unions, one delegate.

Organizations to be entitled to representation must have obtained a certificate of affiliation (charter), at least one month prior to the convention; and no person will be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

Only bona fide **wage workers, who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other trade unions are eligible as delegates from federal labor unions.**

Delegates must be elected at least two weeks previous to the convention, and their names forwarded to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor immediately after their election.

Delegates are not entitled to seats in the convention unless the tax of their organization has been paid in full to August 31, 1924.

While it is inappropriate to recount or forecast the important problems which lay ahead for consideration and action of the El Paso convention it is not amiss to call attention to the following:

Every effort must be made to abolish the exploitation of the labor of children and to safeguard the child life of America; to broaden the field and means for the organization of the yet unorganized; to organize the wage working women and girls and see that their standards of life and toil may be commensurate with the civilization of our time; to organize more thoroughly the unskilled as well as the skilled toilers; cement more closely the bonds of unity and solidarity; to strive to bring about more effectually than ever a better day in the lives and homes of the toilers; to defend and maintain by every honorable means in our power the right to organize for our common defense and advancement, for the exercise of our normal and constitutional activities to protect and promote the rights and interests of the workers; to assert at any risk the equal rights before the law of all workers with all

other citizens; to aid our fellow-workers against the effort to entangle the workers in the meshes of litigation before the courts in the several states; to rectify the abuse of the beneficent injunctive writ; to restore and make effective in our every day lives the principle declared in the law of our republic (the Clayton law), "That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce;" to arouse our fellow workers and fellow citizens to the danger which threatens to curb and take away their guaranteed rights and freedom; to meet and help solve the vexatious problems of peace and reconstruction; to emphasize the dominating and determining economic character of our movement and to carry on such political action as the interests of labor will warrant and the trade union movement has directed; to take into account the results of Labor's non-partisan political activity and contribution in the political campaign now pending and of recent years; to withstand and overcome the bitter antagonism now so rampant to undermine and to destroy the greatest constructive force in our republic, the American labor movement, for, indeed, now, more than ever, "These are the times that try men's souls;" these and other great questions of equal importance will of necessity occupy the attention of the El Paso convention.

Therefore, the importance of our movement, the duty of the hour and for the future, demand that every organization entitled to representation shall send its full quota of delegates to the El Paso Convention, November 17, 1924.

Credentials

Credentials in duplicate are forwarded to all affiliated unions. **The original credential** should be given to the delegate-elect and the **duplicate** forwarded to the **American Federation of Labor** office, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

The Committee on Credentials will meet at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor 10 days previous to the opening of the convention, and will report immediately upon the opening thereof at El Paso, hence secretaries will observe the necessity of mailing the duplicate credentials of their respective delegates at the earliest possible moment to Washington, D. C.

Resolutions—Time Limit

Under the American Federation of Labor constitution resolutions of any character or propositions to change any provision of the constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session without unanimous consent.

Grievances

Under the law no grievance can be considered by the convention which has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor will any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not themselves previously held conference and attempted to adjust the same.

Hotel Rates

William J. Moran, chairman, Hotel Committee of the American Federation of Labor Convention,

El Paso, Tex., states: "El Paso is full of good hotels. The committee of which I am chairman has compiled and rate1 for your convenience a list of the hotels in the city."

He furnishes the following, with the statement that these are a few of the hotels together with their rates:

Paso del Norte Hotel—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	\$3.00
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	5.00
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	6.00
Single room, without bath, per day.....	2.00
Two in room, without bath, per day.....	3.00

Sheldon Hotel—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	2.50
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	4.00
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	4.50
Single room, without bath, per day.....	1.50
Two in room, without bath, per day.....	2.50
Two beds in room, without bath, per day....	3.50

St. Regis Hotel—

Single room, without bath, per day.....	1.50
Two in room, without bath, per day.....	2.50
Two beds in room, without bath, per day....	1.50
Single room, with bath, per day.....	2.50
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	4.00
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	2.00

Fisher Hotel—All Rooms with Bath—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	3.00
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	5.00
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	6.50

Linden Hotel—All Rooms with Bath—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	2.00
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	3.00
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	3.50

Campbell Hotel—All Rooms with Bath—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	2.00
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	2.50
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	3.00

Orndorff Hotel—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	2.00
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	3.50
Single room, without bath, per day.....	2.00
Two in room, without bath, per day.....	2.50
Two beds in room, without bath, per day....	3.00

Knox Hotel—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	2.00
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	3.00
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	4.00
Single room, without bath, per day.....	1.50
Two in room, without bath, per day.....	2.00

Gardner Hotel—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	2.00
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	3.00
Single room, without bath, per day.....	1.00
Two in room, without bath, per day.....	2.00

McCoy Hotel—

Single room, with bath, per day.....	2.50
Two in room, with bath, per day.....	5.00
Two beds in room, with bath, per day.....	6.00
Single room, without bath, per day.....	1.50
Two in room, without bath, per day.....	3.00
Two beds in room, without bath, per day....	4.00

Reservations for accommodations may be made by addressing William J. Moran, chairman, Hotel Committee, 223 South Oregon Street, El Paso, Tex. It is requested that reservations be made through committee to avoid duplications.

We, therefore, advise that you communicate with Chairman Moran at once and request him to make reservations for your delegation.

Headquarters of the Executive Council will be at the Paso del Norte Hotel.

Railroad Rates

We have made application for a reduction in railroad rates for the benefit of the delegates to the convention. The railroads have announced that they will grant the rate of fare and one-half for the round-trip, provided 250 delegates, their relatives or other visitors attending the convention hold certificates which they must secure when purchasing going tickets. Request for the certificate should be made at the ticket office where the going ticket is purchased and will be given with every ticket where the amount paid is not less than 67 cents. These certificates must be presented to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor at El Paso, Tex., where they will be validated by an agent of the railroad company. The validated certificate will enable the holder to purchase his return ticket for one-half the regular fare. No certificate will be validated until 250 are in the possession of the railroad agent. It is therefore important that all delegates attending the convention shall ask for a certificate when purchasing going tickets so there will be the required number to permit the delegates to have the benefit of the reduction of one-half fare for the return trip.

Dates of sale of going tickets have been arranged so that the delegates to the department conventions may avail themselves of the reduced rates. The validating dates for certificates held by delegates to the department conventions will be November 14-15 and for the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention the validating dates will be November 20-21.

If there be any further information regarding the convention, or arrangements for the convenience of the delegates, it will be communicated in a later circular or through the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

Fraternally yours,

SAML. GOMPERS,
President.

Attest:
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

(Seal) JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.
FRANK DUFFY, Second Vice-President.
WM. GREEN, Third Vice-President.
T. A. RICKERT, Fourth Vice-President.
JACOB FISCHER, Fifth Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL, Sixth Vice-President.
MARTIN F. RYAN, Seventh Vice-President.
JAMES WILSON, Eighth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.

*Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.*

Secretaries will please read this call at first meeting of their organization. Labor and reform press please copy.

Book Reviews

A NEW PROVINCE FOR LAW AND ORDER, by Henry Bournes Higgins,
New York, E. P. Dutton and Company.

A review of the Australian Court of Conciliation and Arbitration by the President of the Court from 1907 to 1921, with a chapter on the future of industrial tribunals and a statement made by Justice Higgins when he announced his resignation in 1920. The principles of state conciliation and arbitration as practiced in Australia are authoritatively presented together with an appraisal of the results.

THE LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE IN KARL MARX, by H. W. B. Joseph,
New York. Oxford University Press, American Branch.

Mr. Joseph is a fellow and tutor of New College, Oxford, England. He writes this book because he believes "that the theory which finds an absolute measure of value for things in the labor embodied in them is fundamentally false, and that the widespread acceptance of it among the 'labouring classes' is doubly mischievous." The workers who are saturated with the Marxian theory impart "heat rather than light to their examination of schemes of reform." The author finds that the amount of value of labour "fluctuates under the same conditions as the price of commodities." He favors the principle of the "living wage," which is described as "one that makes it possible to maintain a certain standard of life," although he contends that "what the minimum standard ought to be is not self-evident."

TAXATION; THE PEOPLES' BUSINESS, by Andrew J. Mellon. New
York. MacMillans.

This book contains the views of the Secretary of the Treasury on income and inheritance taxes, surtaxes, tax revision and reduction tax exempt securities, taxing energy and initiative, with a statement of Treasury policies. For his fundamental principles Mr. Mellon relies largely on Adam Smith, whose materialistic theories regarding human labor were for many years mobilized effectively by British employers to reduce the workers of England to a state bordering on economic serfdom, and Alexander Hamilton, who loved democracy so much that he favored organizing the United States as a monarchy instead of a republic. Mr. Mellon admits the charge that business men practice tax evasion by charging tax into production costs and collecting them from the ultimate consumers. According to Mr. Mellon, capital to maintain and develop our railroad transportation must be provided by people of wealth. But the people of wealth have struck and will continue to strike against railroad investments, as long as they are handicapped with the surtax. Large investors must be attracted by high net returns which the surtax prevents. Similarly, according to

Mr. Mellon, men of wealth have struck against furnishing money to build houses for the masses, because the government imposed surtaxes have reduced net income in the house building industry below what big business believes big business should have. Consequently there is a housing shortage, and, by implication, the people must go without houses until they agree to the terms of business relative to profits. High inheritance taxes are a "levy upon capital," and statesmen who advocate them are committing the United States to a "policy of confiscation of wealth." As to tax exempts—by means of which municipalities and states develop such community institutions as water works, sewer systems, and surfaced streets and roads—Mr. Mellon finds that they encourage municipal and state extravagance, although of course the extravagance expressed in the public improvements is all for the public benefit and use. Moreover the tax exempts take capital from productive work, like building a railroad, and put it into unproductive work, like building a highway to feed the railroad.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL ERA, by Sir Charles W. Macara. Manchester. Sherrat and Hughes.

A collection of articles relative to England's cotton manufacturing industry and reasonable methods to put it on a prosperous basis. Self-government by the industry appears to be the keynote of the author, who claims that the experience of British textile operatives during the war with the Cotton Control Board demonstrates that employers and operatives can work out a more efficient and economical unemployment scheme than the one furnished by the state. He insists that a Cotton Control Committee, with power to fix basic prices and enforce penalties, is imperative to stabilize the cotton industry. Increased output is also necessary. To accomplish the latter Mr. Macara urges that the workers be granted a "share in profits and control," with wage rates arranged on a sliding scale according as profits go up or down.

RAW MATERIALS AND FOOD STUFFS IN THE COMMERCIAL POLICIES OF NATIONS, by William S. Culbertson and Others. Philadelphia. American Academy of Political and Social Science.

A collection of papers by 22 experts covering the influence of raw materials, food stuffs, tariffs, international commerce, international news, population and economic pressure on national commercial policies, with a discussion of the place occupied by raw materials and food stuffs in war plans.

THE TEACHING WORK OF THE CHURCH, by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. New York Association Press.

This is the final volume in a series of five reports issued by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, an interdenominational group ap-

pointed in 1918 by the joint action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the General War Time Commission of the Churches to consider the state of religion as revealed and affected by the war and the duty of the church in connection with the revelation. It is declared that the book "unites in a single authoritative work the judgment and experience of a group of educational leaders from every denomination. . . ." The chapter on secularization of public education affirms that "the secularization of public education in America has issued in a situation fraught with danger." To remedy this situation the educational leaders demand that the state shall give "recognition" to religion in its educational program and policy. Churches are urged to agree on an education policy with respect to the "sort of recognition they desire that religion be afforded by and in the public schools," and then bring pressure to bear on the state to give effect to the church's demand. The church authorities responsible for the book maintain that the provision of the constitution of the United States which guarantees separation of church and state should not be construed to prevent recognition of religion in the public schools.

PSYCHOLOGY IN BUSINESS, by Forest A. Kingsbury and Others.
Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science.

A collection of some 23 papers by economists and others making up volume 110 of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Of course the main element in business is the workers who produce the commodities and perform the services which business deals in for the benefit of business. Therefore psychology in business, which is a technical term for human nature in business, must consider ways and means for extracting as large amounts of commodities and services as possible from the brain and brawn of the workers without destroying their commodity-making and service-rendering powers. Consequently "efficiency" and "output" and how to stimulate them are considered at length by the economists in their "Psychology in Business."

PROHIBITION; GOING OR COMING, by Elton Raymond Shaw,
Berwyn, Ill., Shaw Publishing Company.

A defense of the eighteenth amendment and the enforcing acts, with a condemnation of anti-prohibition propaganda. Endorsed by Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Anti-Saloon League of America.

MORTGAGES ON HOMES IN THE UNITED STATES. Bureau of the
Census. Washington, Government Printing Office.

A report on the results of the inquiry as to the mortgage debt on homes other than farm homes at the fourteenth census (1920). The report is prepared by T. J. Fitzgerald, special agent of the Census Bureau, and edited and revised under the supervision of Dr. Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin. Statistics: Total number of homes not on farms, 17,600,472; rented, 10,188,111; owned free from encumbrance, 4,131,878; owned but mortgaged, 2,735,668.

The Human Element in Big Business

The human element is the biggest element in big business.

The Standard Oil Company (Indiana) was one of the first to give recognition to the welfare and rights of those who go to make up the personnel of its organization.

This Company frankly states that a large measure of its success in business is due to the fact that it has considered the human element first. This applies to its relations with consumers, competitors, stockholders and employees.

No organization in the oil industry, which is an industry of specialization, can efficiently serve the public without a trained and loyal body of workers.

The Standard Oil Company (Indiana) over a long period of years has built up a great organization of highly trained employees. These people are not regarded as cogs in a big machine. They are treated as human beings—co-workers with the Board of Directors in rendering an essential service to the thirty million people of the Middle West.

To relieve employees of worry, to enable them to give all their thought to their duties, and to stimulate their loyalty and interest, this Company has put into effect a number of plans.

The last of these to be made effective is known as the "Employees' Death Benefits Plan," under which this Company will pay to dependents of employees, upon the death of the latter, a sum of money ranging from \$500.00, after one year of service, to \$2,000.00, after ten years of service. This money will be paid *wholly* by the Company, irrespective of the position of the worker, and without expense to him.

In dealing with the public, the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) keeps ever in the foreground the fact that in the last analysis it is dealing with men and women. Whether these men and women are inside or outside the organization makes no difference—they must be considered as the human, the only necessary part of industry.

You can't keep human nature out of business, and the bigger the business, the greater the need for proper consideration of that human element which is so important a part of it.

The Standard Oil Company (Indiana) has converted this human element into an asset to the public, by giving the utmost stimulus to those qualities of the worker which make for loyal and intelligent service.

Standard Oil Company

(Indiana)

General Offices: Standard Oil Building

910 So. Michigan Ave.

Chicago, Ill.

WHAT OUR ORGANIZERS ARE DOING

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC

FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

Laundry Workers International Union

Harry L. Morrison.—We have 74 local unions with a total membership of 5,500. Nine members were lost during the month and 22 new members added. Conditions are only fair and not improving.

Metal Engravers' Union

B. H. Alstad.—We have six local unions with a total membership of 140. The general state of employment is poor.

Order of Sleeping Car Conductors

W. O. Murphy.—We have 39 local unions with a total membership of 2,300. Two deaths have occurred with an expenditure of \$2,000. Conditions are fair but not improving. A movement has been started for a minimum road assignment.

FROM DISTRICT, STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZERS

ARIZONA

Lowell.—Phil. J. Donahue:

Additional workers have been employed by several plants. The Phelps-Dodge Corporation has hired 125 workers; The Calumet Arizona Mining Company, 162; and the Shattuck Arizona Mining Company has hired 80. The Phelps-Dodge Corporation has a union agreement. Active work is being carried on to increase the demand for union labels.

ARKANSAS

Jenny Lind.—N. M. Henson:

The Mama Coal Company has laid off 68 miners and the Jenny Lind Smokeless Coal Company has laid off 84. Coal mining and farming are the chief industries here. The miners have union agreements. Agitation for union label goods is carried on at all our meetings and all union men and women are requested to purchase only union made goods.

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach.—T. H. Norris:

We are still experiencing acute financial and business depression here. Continued agitation is carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

Los Angeles.—George E. Bevan:

On account of power shortage all industries have laid off about 25 per cent of their men. The

Upholsterer's Union has won its strike against the Jonas and Company, upholsterers. Settlement was satisfactory to both sides and this company is again a union shop. An active label league, the garment workers and boot and shoe workers are constantly agitating for the use of union label goods. There are no new unions but the majority of organizations have increased their membership since the campaign started.

COLORADO

Denver.—Earl R. Hoage:

Drain Layers, No. 331, received increased wages of 50 cents per day, making their scale \$7 per day. The Cuban Cigar Company closed for two weeks laying off 175 workers, but will open later with a larger force than ever. Business is slack in all lines except building trades. The printing trades are working from three to five days per week. The Banker's Supply Company, a large non-union concern is working only three days per week. City Employees' Union, No. 16427, are asking for an increase of \$1 per day. This will be voted on by the people of Denver at a special election August 12. Their scale is now \$4 for eight hours. The Union Label League is carrying on an effective label campaign in all parts of the city. We are boosting union made cigars and tobaccos at every opportunity. The meat cutters are increasing their membership at every meeting, and have signed up for a large market employing 20 men. Plans are made for Labor Day celebration to excell all others.

CONNECTICUT

Norwich.—William H. Donahue:

Business and labor conditions remain about the same here but they are way below normal. The cigar trade has opened up some, with one shop taking on 50 per cent of its help. I am doing all I can to cooperate with the label drive. I am also working on the central labor union and expect help soon to put it over.

ILLINOIS

Eldorado.—John A. Cooley:

The painters have received an increase in wages from 75 cents to \$1 per hour and a decrease in working hours from nine to eight. New work has opened up on road construction. The miners, carpenters, painters, masons and common laborers union agreements and the retail merchants have a "company union." The *Eldorado Daily News* favors organized labor. The Central Labor Union has a committee of three, in addition to myself, working on labels. Two new unions have been formed during the month; namely, the painters and catering workers.

INDIANA

Elkhart.—I. O. Steplic:

The factories are still laying off men and some of them have closed down entirely. Automobile plants and machine shops have closed laying off about 800 men.

A "company union" formed in the railroad shops has a bad effect on organized workers. We are doing great work in the labor campaign with the cooperation of the merchants. No locals have been organized but the writer is working on the organization of retail clerks, plasterers, chauffeurs and mill workers.

Michigan City.—C. F. Wysong:

The majority of plants here are working a five day week. The Northern Indiana Gas and Electric properties in the Calumet region started company unions this month. At all union meetings discussions for increasing the demand for the union label are carried on. Local No. 626, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America was organized with seventeen members.

Muncie.—W. M. Davis:

The Muncie Malleable, the Muncie Foundry and Machine Company, the Muncie Products Company and the Warner Gear Company have almost shut down, having laid off a total of 700 employees. The foundries only have union agreements. Constant agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods and numbers of articles are to be found in the stores.

KANSAS

Arkansas City.—Ed. E. Rock:

The flour mills here have hired a few additional men. The Santa Fe bridge is the only construction job of any importance being erected now. One refinery has closed completely down and all other industries have laid off from one-half to one-third of their employees. Railroads here have a union with compulsory membership, and members are penalized for non-attendance at meetings. Conditions are at their very worst here for all kinds of labor. Money is very scarce and living and rents very high. Two weeks ago the Maintenance of Way was reorganized and elected new officers.

Leavenworth.—G. J. Siegart:

The Abernathy and Helmers' furniture factories have laid off 125 employees. The only new work being carried on here is street paving. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

MAINE

Bangor.—Joseph F. Carr:

The Maine Central railroad has laid off between 700 and 800 employees. The foundries are working short time and the paper and pulp factories have laid off workers. The lumber cut is to be curtailed this winter. There is a fair amount of work in the building trades and road construction, but wages are low. Good work is carried on at all times to increase the demand for the union label.

Save the surface and
you save all—*Dutch & Varnish*



Weather-proof and worry-proof

Dutch Boy white-lead and red-lead keep the surfaces they cover safe from the attacks of rot and rust.

Dutch Boy red-lead puts around iron and steel a tough, elastic covering that air and moisture cannot pierce.

Dutch Boy white-lead can be mixed with pure linseed oil for exterior painting and with flattening oil for interior painting. It makes a paint that saves wood and other non-metallic surfaces from rot and deterioration.

Both these Dutch Boy products are used by painters everywhere as standard protective paints.

NATIONAL LEAD COMPANY

New York, 111 Broadway; Boston, 131 State St.; Buffalo, 116 Oak St.; Chicago, 900 West 18th St.; Cincinnati, 659 Freeman Ave.; Cleveland, 820 West Superior Ave.; St. Louis, 722 Chestnut St.; San Francisco, 485 California St.; Pittsburgh, National Lead & Oil Co. of Pa., 316 Fourth Ave.; Philadelphia, John T. Lewis & Bros. Co., 437 Chestnut St.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston.—George J. Bowen:

The street car employees in Worcester received 19 cents an hour increase in wages. A large number of plants have closed down and some for two weeks' vacation.

MINNESOTA

Fairbault.—F. N. Morgan:

Over 300 workers have been laid off in the furniture and shoe factories. The Wilson Packing Company has hired a few additional workers. Road construction and erection of new buildings provides additional work. The furniture workers are partly organized, while the woolen mills have a "profit sharing plan." During the state convention held here agitation for union labels was carried on.

St. Paul.—Frank Fisher:

Work is very slack in the building industry with no prospects of anything opening up soon.

NEW YORK

Albany.—John J. Dillon:

There have been improvements in conditions of work in the building trades and also in the Lyon Printing Company. Non-union establishments are working short hours. Several large construction jobs have opened up and 200 or more



The original and genuine naptha soap
in the red-and-green wrapper

Save Money!

You know that good tools make your work easier—and that you can get better work done with good tools.

Get your wife to use Fels-Naptha Soap. It is more than soap—it has also the extra thorough cleansing of naptha.

It will take out the ground-in dirt or grease from your overalls and clothes so quickly, so easily that it will not only make your clothes cleaner but will make them last longer. It cuts down the rubbing that wears them out—and it saves your wife work.

Buy her a bar tonight. And see the difference.

FELS-NAPTHA

THE GOLDEN BAR WITH THE CLEAN NAPTHA ODOR.

men have been employed. The label league has been agitating the use of labels among the unions and are cooperating with the merchants.

Cohoes.—Joseph R. White:

The knitting mills are working only three days per week, and have laid off workers. The rolling mills have completely closed down. Construction of a new post office provides additional work in the building trades. The B. & L. mills have union agreements, all others are "open shop." Constant agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union labels.

White Plains.—Charles H. Cypher:

Building is the chief industry here and new work is steadily opening up. The carpenters have one-year agreements and other trades two-year agreements.

OHIO

Bridgeport.—C. E. Bartlebaugh:

Through arbitration since May first, Division 103 of the street railwaymen received an increase of 2 cents per hour; now receiving 57 cents. Several hundred workers have been laid off from the steel mills and glass factory. The steel mills have union shops. Approximately 200 laborers have been employed by the street railway company to rebuild their tracks.

Canton.—W. E. Lerch:

Approximately 1,000 workers have been laid off from the United Alloy Company, the Berger Mills and Timbers. The erection of a new Masonic Temple has increased work in the building trades.

Elyria.—Charles H. Kopp:

The Elyria Iron and Steel Company and the General Phonograph Company have laid off workers. Hundreds of men in the building trades have been employed rebuilding the devastated section of Lorain. A union label committee of six members has been formed to agitate for the increased demand of union labels. Cooperation with the merchants is being carried on. The writer has assisted the pattern makers in building up their membership and also helping the linemen's local.

Hamilton.—Stanley Ogg:

Several hundred workers have been laid off from foundries and machine shops. The only new work being carried on here is repairing of roads. Some of the foundries have union agreements. Through the central body agitation is carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

Hollister.—D. W. Wallace:

There have been improvements in conditions of work on the railroads and in the building trades. Eighty per cent of the coal mines are idle and the others are working ten per cent full time.

OKLAHOMA

Tulsa.—Ben James:

There has been a general decrease in employment in all lines of work. The Ku Klux Klan has been injected into the labor movement and things are very bad over the state. All locals are having trouble with the Klan. Practically all work in the oil fields has been reduced and 5,000 workers in the district are out of work. The Woman's Union

INSIST on WAN-ETA Chocolate Bars and WAN-ETA Cocoa.

Made Under the Most Sanitary Conditions.

**MASSACHUSETTS CHOCOLATE COMPANY
BOSTON, MASS.**



Save ~~24~~ **Green Stamps** and you
Save Money! Thousands of home
makers will tell you this is true.

The Sperry & Hutchinson Co.
New York City

Label League is agitating for the increased demand of union label goods.

PENNSYLVANIA

Punxsulawney.—James L. Carmin:

There has been no improvement in conditions in this community. The principal industries are coal, iron foundries, window glass and glass bottle plants, and railroad shops. They all have union agreements. The union label committee is active inducing merchants to handle more label goods and trying to induce car men to demand labeled goods.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Spartanburg.—L. C. Wilson:

Construction of the Southern railroad shops has provided additional work for men in the building trades. The cotton mills are the chief industry here but they have no union agreements. During the past month local unions were organized of carpenters and joiners, and panterers and decorators.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Huron.—E. L. Gorgan:

Conditions remain the same here. Some additional work is being carried on in the building trades. Employees have been laid off by the railroads. The Great Northern Railway has the only "company union" in the state. Organization of union label leagues is being urged to increase the demand for union label goods.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston.—C. P. Coffey:

Conditions here remain much the same. Assistance is needed to organize manufacturing plants and also building and common laborers. An active Womens' Union Label League keeps in constant touch with merchants to increase the demand for union label goods.

WISCONSIN

Sheboygan.—C. J. Schermeister:

Working hours in factories have been reduced from 10 to 8 hours with no work on Saturdays. Great numbers of men in the building trades are coming to Sheboygan. Employment remains about the same. Outside of the building of residences very little is being done in the building trades. The carpenters, plumbers, and sheet metal workers have signed union agreements. Agitation is being carried on by the Central Labor Council to increase the demand for union label goods. The bricklayers at Plymouth, Wisconsin, are being organized.

WYOMING

Lander.—William McMahon:

A great amount of new work has opened up in the oil industry absorbing all of the surplus labor in this community. No one is being laid off here. The coal miners here have union agreements. We are constantly agitating for increased demand of union label goods and the results are about 60 per cent successful. During the month Federal Union, No. 17777 was organized and is going strong.





EMPIRE

Empire Petroleum Products

GASOLINE

NAPHTHA

KEROSENE

GAS OIL

FUEL OIL

ROAD OIL

ABSORPTION OIL

NEUTRAL OILS

RED OIL

CYLINDER STOCKS

PARAFFIN OILS

PARAFFIN WAX

Write for Prices

EMPIRE REFINERIES, Inc.

SUBSIDIARY CITIES SERVICE COMPANY

GENERAL SALES OFFICE — TULSA, OKLA.

The New "Sun" Engine!

Arrangements have been made with Wm. Doxford & Sons, Ltd., Sunderland, England, for the development, plans and patents they have covering Doxford engines. The Doxford plans and patents together with the Junker patents will be used by the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company for the manufacture of Doxford engines in America.

Motorships "Yngaren" and "Dominion" with Doxford engines are giving very finest results in durability, continuous running, and remarkable fuel economy.

SUN SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK CO.

Chester, Penna.

New York Office
Philadelphia Office

25 Broadway
Finance Building



HERCULES POWDER CO.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

SINCLAIR OILS

SINCLAIR REFINING COMPANY

CHICAGO

NEW YORK



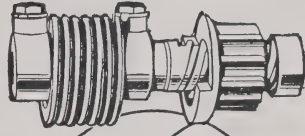
WALK-OVER SHOES

for Men and Women

*Walk-Over Stores or Agencies
Everywhere*

Geo. E. Keith Company

Campello (Brockton), Mass.



The **BENDIX DRIVE**

*'The Mechanical Hand
That Cranks Your Car'*

MADE BY THE

Eclipse Machine Co.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

Buy

U. S. Treasury

Savings

Certificates



**If you're a friend
of Labor
you're a friend of the**

DURHAM - DUPLEX

The He-Man's Razor with the He-Man Blades

DURHAM DUPLEX RAZOR CO., Jersey City, N. J.

BUY U.S. TREASURY
SAVINGS
CERTIFICATES



THE MARTIN - DENNIS COMPANY
NEWARK, N. J.

The S. S. White Dental
Manufacturing Co.



211 South 12th Street
Philadelphia - Pennsylvania

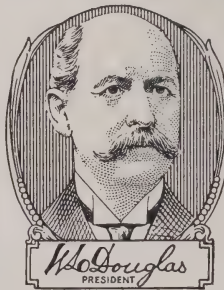
THE
ARUNDEL
CORPORATION



Baltimore
Maryland

W. L. DOUGLAS

\$5, \$6, \$7 & \$8 Shoes
Boys at \$4.50 and \$5.00



Wear W. L. Douglas
Shoes and Save Money
FOR 38 YEARS, W. L. Douglas' name and portrait have stood for quality, for economy and for satisfactory service. W. L. Douglas shoes are exceptionally good values. Only by wearing them can you appreciate their superior qualities. *The exclusive,*

smart models, designed especially for young men and women, *are leaders everywhere.*

W. L. DOUGLAS \$7.00 SHOES are remarkably good value. Seldom have you had the opportunity to buy such *high-grade* shoes at this popular price. Shoes of equal *quality, comfort and service* are rarely found in other makes at our prices.

WHEREVER YOU LIVE, demand W. L. Douglas shoes. They are sold in 120 of our stores in the principal cities and by over 5,000 shoe dealers. *For economy and dependable value*, wear shoes that have W. L. Douglas' name and the retail price stamped on the soles. *The stamped price guarantees the value.*

If not for sale in your vicinity, write for catalog.

W. L. DOUGLAS SHOE COMPANY
12 Spark Street, Brockton, Mass.

Strictly Union Made

and with the quality that brings you
back for another pack

Made in the factory of the

AXTON-FISHER TOBACCO CO.

Incorporated

Louisville, Ky.



which, for 23 years
in business, has em-
ployed union labor
only and never had
a strike



Massachusetts Bonding & Insurance Company

T. J. FALVEY, President

14 Kilby Street, Boston

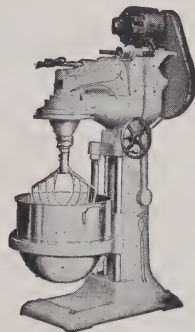
Capital, \$1,500,000.00.

Transacts business throughout the
United States and writes FIDELITY
and SURETY BONDS and CASU-
ALTY INSURANCE, including
MONTHLY PREMIUM ACCI-
DENT and HEALTH INSURANCE.

**A Company Which Invariably Gives a
"SQUARE DEAL."**

THE Metropolitan Life Insurance
Company is mutually owned
by its 21,000,000 policyholders.

Its assets belong to the policyholders.
They are accumulated to meet policy
obligations and for no other purpose.
Every policyholder is a capitalist—
an investor—and his interest should
be recognized by legislators and com-
missioners. The policyholders own
over \$313,000,000 in railroad se-
curities; \$606,000,000 in real estate
mortgages; \$80,000,000 in public utility
bonds; \$200,000,000 in Government
obligations.



**FOR
Bakery Equipment
of Quality**

CONSULT US

READ MACHINERY CO.

YORK, PA.

Manufacturers of

Complete Bakery Equipments

YORK SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY

Safes and Vaults

FACTORY

YORK, PA.

Spirella
CORSETS

"The World's Best Corset"—
For Health, Comfort and Style

Hegeman-Harris Company

INCORPORATED

BUILDERS

360 Madison Ave.

New York, N. Y.

Telephone Murray Hill 5362

The Only Safe Water
is a Sterilized Water

Every drop of water used by over
80 million people in North America
is sterilized by Liquid Chlorine



WALLACE & TIERNAN
COMPANY, INCORPORATED
Manufacturers of Chlorine Control Apparatus

NEWARK

NEW JERSEY



ARMSTRONG STOCKS AND DIES



HINGED PIPE VISES

PIPE CUTTERS

PIPE MACHINES

STEAM AND GAS FITTERS TOOLS

MANUFACTURED BY

THE ARMSTRONG M'FG CO.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

**United Fireproofing
Company**

*Engineers and
General Contractors*

8 West 40th Street New York City

Phone Longacre 8850-1

CENTRAL AGUIRRE SUGAR COMPANY

AGUIRRE, PORTO RICO

PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY

Glass--Mirrors--Paints--Brushes

Warehouses in All Principal Cities

General Office
260 S. Broad St., Philadelphia

J. H. WEAVER & CO.
BITUMINOUS COAL

For Steamships and High-Efficiency Steam Requirements
EXTRA PREPARATION OVER PICKING TABLES

SHIPPING PIERS:

New York—Philadelphia—Baltimore

Branch Office
25 Broadway, New York

GAS

EXCELLENT QUALITY
FAIRMONT DISTRICT

THE AUSTIN COMPANY
Industrial Engineers and Builders
OFFICES ALL PRINCIPAL CITIES

Sant-Flat
Mooramel
Cement Coating
Impervo Surfacor
White Enamel Underbody

Benjamin Moore & Co.
Paints, Varnishes and Muresco

NEW YORK
CHICAGO
CLEVELAND



ST. LOUIS
CARTERET
TORONTO

Muresco
House Paint
Pure Oil Colors
Japans and Driers
Impervo Varnishes

THE J. G. WHITE ENGINEERING CORPORATION
ENGINEERS—CONSTRUCTORS

43 EXCHANGE PLACE - - NEW YORK

"It is far more economical to pay a few cents more for a good lubricant, than to accept an inferior one as a gift." Do you believe it?

KEYSTONE LUBRICATING COMPANY
Manufacturers and Lubricating Engineers

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

EST. 1884

**HARTFORD CITY GAS LIGHT
COMPANY**

Hartford, Conn.

McClellan & Junkersfeld
Incorporated

Engineering and Construction

**Power Developments — Indus-
trial Plants—Examinations—
Reports—Management**

68 Trinity Place, NEW YORK
CHICAGO PHILADELPHIA ST. LOUIS

*Quality Lubricants Since 1853***SWAN-FINCH OIL CORPORATION****522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK****Keystone Roofing Manufacturing Company****Asphalt Roofings - Shingles - Waterproof Products
York, Pennsylvania****PEJEPSCOT PAPER COMPANY****MANUFACTURERS OF PULP,
PAPER AND LUMBER**PEJEPSCOT MILL
BOWDOIN MILL
LISBON FALLS MILL
TOPSHAM MILL
GREAT SALMON RIVER MILL
MARTINS HEAD MILL
COOKSHIRE MILL
SAWYERVILLE MILL**OFFICES: BRUNSWICK, MAINE
42 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY****The FIRST NATIONAL****Trademark**stands for the
ultimate in
artistic and
entertaining
pictures. **UNITED STATES SMELTING
Refining and Mining Company****Executive Offices: 55 Congress Street, BOSTON
Sales Office: - 120 Broadway, NEW YORK**BUYERS OF Gold, Silver, Lead, Lead and Zinc Con-
centrating Ores, Matte and Furnace Products
PRODUCERS AND SELLERS OF Gold, Silver, Copper,
Lead, Zinc, Arsenic, Cadmium, Copper Car-
bonate and Sodium Arsenite
REFINERS OF Lead Bullion.**OPERATING OFFICES:** Salt Lake City, Utah; Kennett,
Cal.; Goldroad, Ariz.; Baxter Springs, Kan.;
Eureka, Colo., and Pachuca, Mexico.**TEXAS GULF
SULPHUR COMPANY**
(Incorporated)**41 East 42d Street
NEW YORK****Salt for All Purposes****INDEPENDENT SALT CO.**

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

**44 Whitehall Street
NEW YORK**

Telephone 8920-1-2-3-4 BOWLING GREEN

KLEARFLAX*Linen Rugs and Carpeting*

FROM

The Klearflax Linen Looms, Inc.

DULUTH, MINNESOTA

**Textile Bldg., 295 Fifth Ave.
NEW YORK**

BYLLESBY ENGINEERING & MANAGEMENT CORPORATION



208 South La Salle Street
CHICAGO

NEW YORK
SAN DIEGO

BOSTON
TACOMA

PHILADELPHIA!

Famed throughout the land for its ships, ice cream, locomotives, carpets, textiles, chemicals—Philadelphia is called the Workshop of the World.

And as the welfare of the community is inseparably linked with the progress of its manufactures, so is the Central Station one of the mightiest factors in production.

Reliable, efficient and economical source of power—that is the ideal of Philadelphia Electric Service.

THE PHILADELPHIA ELECTRIC COMPANY

EPOCH MAKING IMPROVEMENTS

THE interpole construction of electric motors now generally copied and approved by all electrical manufacturers was invented, developed and first manufactured by this company.

BALL BEARING electric motors were first developed and manufactured by this company. What other improvements in motor design during the past twenty years compare with these two achievements?

A. C. or D. C. Motors— $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1,000 H. P.

ELECTRO DYNAMIC COMPANY

BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

Sales Offices in principal cities

CHARLES WARNER COMPANY

Manufacturers of

CEDAR HOLLOW LIME

and

WARNER'S "LIMOID."

Wilmington, Del. Philadelphia, Pa.

New York City

FRED W. SINCLAIR

ALBERT GRIGG

Sinclair & Grigg *Builders*

Medical Arts Building

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

United Piece Dye Works

*Dyers, Printers and Finishers
in the Piece of*

All Silk Fabrics, Silk and Cotton Mixed Goods, Silk and Wool, All Cotton Goods, Etc.

LODI, N. J.

New York Office: - 132 Madison Avenue

Mills: - - - - Lodi & Hawthorne

Wilkes-Barre Lace Mfg. Co.

WILKES-BARRE - PENNA.

Air Compressors, Condensers,
Turbo Blowers, Rock Drilling
Machinery, Oil Engines,
Pneumatic Tools.

Branch Offices and Service Stations
the World Over

Ingersoll-Rand Company

11 Broadway

New York

Rooms For Conference Meetings Without Charge**Absolutely Fireproof****Hotel Aberdeen**

17-19-21 W. 32nd Street

Between Broadway and Fifth Avenue, New York

J. F. Downey, President

Special Headquarters for A. F. of L. Representatives. 300 Rooms with private bath \$2.50 and \$3.00 per day.

THE FOUNDATION COMPANY
ENGINEERING CONSTRUCTION

An Organization of experienced men, equipped with modern plant, prepared to undertake engineering construction anywhere.

120 Liberty Street

City of New York

Offices in Principal Cities

"UNITED" LINED PRODUCTS

Lead-Lined, Tin-Lined, Brass and Copper-Lined Pipe and Fittings, Acid Valves, Centrifugal Acid Pumps, Lead-Lined Chemical Apparatus

UNITED LEAD COMPANY

111 Broadway

NEW YORK

Arbogast & Bastian Co.*Wholesale Slaughterers of*

**Cattle, Hogs, Sheep, and Calves, Meat
Packers and Provision Dealers**

U. S. Government Inspection

ALLENTOWN - - PENNSYLVANIA

UNION NATIONAL BANK
Scranton, Pa.**Capital and Surplus, \$700,000***3% Paid on Savings***OFFICERS**

F. W. WOLLERTON *President*
H. C. WALLACE *Vice-President*
W. L. MATTHEWS *Vice-President*
W. W. McCULLOCH . *Vice-Pres. and Cash.*
SEBERT WENZEL *Ass't Cashier*

Gasoline
Measuring
Pumps and
Storage
Tanks



Industrial
Oil Storage
and
Handling
Equipment

**GILBERT & BARKER
MANUFACTURING CO.**

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

**THE CALCO CHEMICAL
COMPANY****MANUFACTURERS OF**

**Dyestuffs, Intermediates and
Pharmaceuticals**

**MAIN OFFICE AND WORKS
BOUND BROOK, NEW JERSEY**



Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

WHEN YOU BUY

a Sawset, Bench Stop, Nail Puller, Box Opener, Punch, Lead Seal Press,
or Liquid Soap Dispenser and are looking for **QUALITY**
see that it is stamped MORRILL and Trade-Mark

CHAS. MORRILL, Inc. 104 Lafayette Street, New York

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

UNION SPRING & MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Coil Springs, Elliptic Springs, Steel Castings, Pressed Steel Spring Plates and Pressed Steel Journal Box Lids
KENSINGTON JOURNAL BOX—All Steel

WORKS—New Kensington, Pa.

50 Church Street, New York, N. Y.
Todd Building, Louisville, Ky.

Fisher Building, Chicago, Ill.
226 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

PITTSBURGH OFFICE—300 Granite Building

Mutual Building, Richmond, Va.
Munsey Building, Baltimore, Md.

NEW ENGLAND SPUN SILK CORPORATION

276 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

BUY the United States Treasury Savings Certificates



For Colors
Vode Kid

The Standard Kid Co.

209 South Street BOSTON
Factories: Wilmington, Del.

Huther Brothers Saw Mfg. Co., Inc.

Manufacturers of

Circular Saws, Patent Dado Heads, Inserted Tooth Milling Saws, with inserts of high speed steel; SEMHI Milling Saws, Patent Box Board Matchers, Lock Corner Cutters, Concave Saws, Saw Fitting Machinery, and all kinds of special grooving saws.

Rochester, - - - New York

County Savings Bank

Court House Square, Spruce Street
SCRANTON PENNSYLVANIA

Founded 1871

OFFICERS: L. A. Watres, President; Joseph O'Brien, First Vice-President; E. M. Rine, Second Vice-President; Wallace M. Ruth, Cashier; Leslie B. Tyler, H. S. Kirkpatrick, and Louella Warren, Assistant Cashiers.

DIRECTORS: Frank P. Benjamin, F. H. Hemelright, Joseph Jeffrey, Henry A. Knapp, William R. Lewis, Joseph O'Brien, F. J. Platt, E. M. Rine, Wallace M. Ruth, Edward W. Warren, L. A. Watres, Laurence H. Watres, F. H. Wright.

Barber Steamship Lines

INCORPORATED

Steamship Owners, Agents and Brokers

New York—Australia and New Zealand
New York—China and Japan Ports
New York—South and East Africa
New York—French and other European Ports
New York—Uruguay and Argentine

Room 930

17 Battery Place - New York



Borden's
THE NATION'S MILK
A Milk Product to Meet Every Requirement



Famous FIFTY YEARS for Our LOW PRICES
HOUGHTON & DUTTON CO.
BOSTON, MASS.

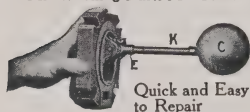
THE McDANIEL IMPROVED STEAM TRAP

Discharges Continuously and Never Blows Steam. Made Extra Heavy for High Pressures. No pipe connections are broken when making repairs, all steam pipes being attached to body.

All Working Parts Are Here

We also manufacture Reducing Valves, Pump Governors, Relief Valves, Ejectors and Steam Separators.

SEND FOR CATALOGUE

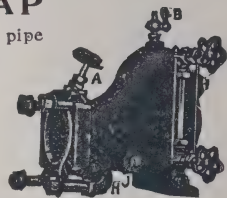


Quick and Easy
to Repair

Watson & McDaniel Company

142 North Seventh Street

PHILADELPHIA, PA.



For Headache Take
BROMO-SELTZER
SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS

WORKERS,

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE

American Federationist

AND SECURE OTHER SUBSCRIBERS

It is Your Magazine

IT DEFENDS YOUR INTERESTS AND ADVOCATES YOUR CAUSE AGAINST
 THAT OF ANY OTHER BODY ON EARTH.

A Liberal Commission on
 all Subscriptions sent in.

Write for Terms.
 Why don't You Become an Agent?

The American Federationist

Is on Sale on Every News Stand.

If you fail to see it on your News Stand

ASK THE REASON WHY.

A Physician's Experience

"Being a physician I realized that I had Chronic Gastritis. After eating, I always experienced a feeling of distress and depression, which led to pain. Life was a battle and an agony. When yeast was suggested, it seemed to hold no prospect of final restoration to health, but good logic prompted me to take it. I began by eating one cake of Fleischmann's Yeast after each meal.

"I triumphed; for, in two months my sufferings ended, and since then I have felt no pain or discomfort."

A letter from Captain Joseph Finberg,
Medical Corps, 826 Lakeside Place, Chi-
cago, Illinois.

FLEISCHMANN'S YEAST

At every grocer's

Eat 2 to 3 cakes a day.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor

CHESTER M. WRIGHT, Assistant Editor

Official Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

1924

Executive Council, A. F. of L.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Second Vice-President.

FRANK DUFFY, Third Vice-President.

WILLIAM GREEN, Fourth Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT, Fifth Vice-President.

JACOB FISCHER, Sixth Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL, Seventh Vice-President.

MARTIN F. RYAN, Eighth Vice-President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Official monthly magazine, devoted to the interests and voicing the demands of the trade union movement.

Published by **THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR** at 9th St. and Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C.

Correspondents will please address SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor, Washington, D. C.

All communications relating to finances and subscriptions should be addressed to FRANK MORRISON, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

The publisher reserves the right to reject or revoke advertising contracts at any time.

The editor will not be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

The American Federation of Labor is not sponsor for nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Entered at Washington, D. C., post office as second-class matter. Accept for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized July 11, 1918.

Contents for October

The People's Will Must Rule..... 797

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

A Notable Anniversary—A Short History of the Carpenters' Company
of Philadelphia and Carpenters' Hall..... 801

By FRANK DUFFY

American Cooperation With the League of Nations..... 804

By MANLEY O. HUDSON

Cartoon—My Kingdom for an Issue..... 807

EDITORIALS:

By SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, American Federation of Labor

Why Labor Should Support La Follette and Wheeler..... 808

Ours Is Not the Philosophy of Misery..... 809

Waste Elimination..... 813

Belittling the Congress..... 813

A Service for Pan-Americanism..... 815

Farmers' Guide Post—Organization..... 819

Avoid Spurious Dollar Diplomacy..... 820

Heading West..... 822

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

BOOK REVIEWS:

War Finances in the Netherlands Up to 1918..... 824

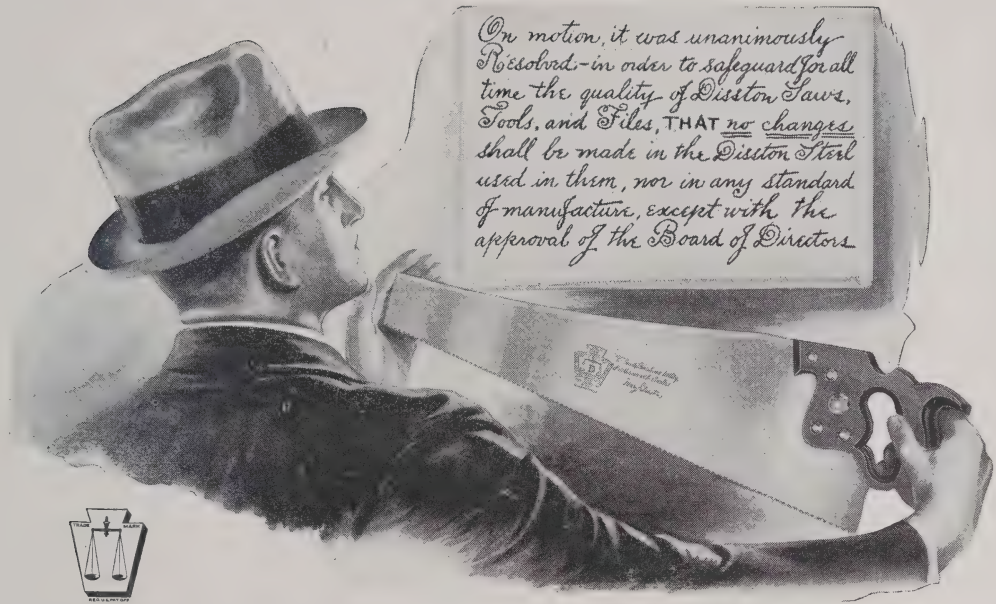
Children in Gainful Occupations..... 824

Fifteenth Annual Report of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission
of the Province of Ontario..... 824

The Canada Year Book, 1922-23..... 824

What Our Organizers Are Doing..... 826





The Resolution that protects you when you go to buy a saw



For hack saws, Disston worked out a special steel: harder, tougher. And Disston saw makers make Disston Hack Saws with teeth with a special set, a different angle, to give you better service.

The Hack Saw Frame illustrated is the No. 36½, adjustable by half inches to take blades 8 to 12 inches. Riveted sockets, and reversible stretchers.



You can buy Disston Files in any standard size or style—files of the same quality as the 35,000 dozen that Disston saw makers use every year for filing Disston Saws.

AGAIN the Disston Saw Works was overwhelmed with orders for "The Saw Most Carpenters Use."

The directors—sons and grandsons of Henry Disston—were in session. What could they do to satisfy hardware merchants whose customers were demanding Disston Saws?

Every man present had served in the shops. Each knew that saw steel, and saws, could be made faster and cheaper.

Yet such steel would not have been Disston Steel, nor such saws Disston Saws.

So the heads of the industry reaffirmed the Disston policy, and spread it on the minutes of the board.

"No changes shall be made . . . in steel . . . nor standards" except for betterment.

That was years ago, but the order stands today, to safeguard the users of Disston Saws.

Disston craftsmen know only one standard of workmanship. They never will know any other.

Henry Disston, father of modern saw-making, won fame with the saws that he made with his own hands. Then, with years of training, he taught others to make saws just as he made them.

These men taught their sons, and they their grandsons. For those who make Disston

Saws look upon their skill as a legacy, to be handed down through the years.

In the Disston Shops today are 304 men who have been making Disston Saws 30 years or longer; 80 with 40-year records; 36 with 50 to 62 years of service.

You, as a saw user, want a hand saw that will give you life-long service. A saw that runs easy, cuts straight to the line, cuts fast without binding. A saw balanced so nicely that you feel it was made for you alone!

To get this saw, be sure you see the Disston name on it.

Disston put balance into the hand saw; gave it the taper that makes your work easy; created the Disston steel that, fortified with Disston tempering, holds the keenest cutting edge.

Disston Circular Saws, Band Saws, Hack Saws, Circular Metal-Cutting Saws, etc.—hundreds of kinds, for thousands of uses—all are made with the same care and skill as "The Saw Most Carpenters Use."

Ask Disston

Tell us what kind of work you are doing, in wood, metal, stone, or other material, and we will tell you what types of saws to use. Disston issues many books to aid the user of saws and tools.

HENRY DISSTON & SONS, Inc.
Philadelphia, U. S. A.

Hardware dealers the world around sell Disston Saws, Tools, and Files

DISSTON



Why nearly everyone is a Utility Investor

7%
on your
savings

MOST of us, whether we realize it or not, are investors in public utilities—electric light and power, gas and transportation.

Insurance companies, banks and trust estates have invested millions of dollars entrusted to them by the people, in the industry.

All of us who use the service have made an investment in wiring, fixtures, piping, appliances, etc., to make it available.

It is only a step further to direct ownership of the sound securities of these essential public service institutions.

You can own shares in this sound industry and draw quarterly dividends, as more than 2,000,000 people are now doing. The way is open through our monthly saving plan, \$10 down and \$10 monthly per share.

*For latest list of investment opportunities,
call, telephone or write*

UTILITY SECURITIES COMPANY

72 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

Telephone Randolph 6262

Milwaukee, Wis.

Louisville, Ky.





Installing General Electric incandescent street lighting system in Nagoya, Japan.

Everywhere, this monogram



The International General Electric Company carries products of American industry to every land, and brings back developments which foreign scientists have worked out. Thus, by a league of minds, peoples know one another better, and humanity moves forward with a swifter stride.

You may travel through a tropical jungle on a train which a G-E locomotive pulls; in an Oriental city you may drink water which a G-E motor pumps.

The sun never sets on this monogram; and wherever you find it, it is a symbol of service—an evidence that electricity is doing one more heavy task which men and women used to do.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

PRODUCERS
REFINERS
DISTRIBUTORS
and MARKETERS

of

PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

featuring

PAN-AM GASOLINE
LUBRICATING OILS
FUEL OILS and GREASES

*since our organization handles
its products through every stage
of manufacture—from the well
to the consumer—users of its
various products are assured
of uniformly high quality and
continuous supply*

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

ATKINS

SILVER STEEL SAWS

"That Smile of Satisfaction"

Is caused by the high quality of

ATKINS SILVER STEEL SAWS

which are all the word **QUALITY** implies. It means they run easier, cut faster and stay sharp longer than any other saws.

Run Easier—because they are taper ground; that is, the blade tapers from cutting edge to back, and from butt to point.

Cut Faster—because of the Perfection Handle which directs the full force of the stroke on cutting edge of saw.

Stay Sharp Longer—because they are made of Silver Steel which is extremely tough and firm, but not brittle and files readily.

Atkins Saws are obtainable in either straight or skew back pattern, wide or ship point widths, in Hand, Rip or Panel style. Ask your hardware dealer.

Send 35c for carpenter's apron, pencil and Saw Sense booklet.

E. C. ATKINS & CO.

Established 1857 THE SILVER STEEL SAW PEOPLE
Home Office and Factory, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Canadian Factory, Hamilton, Ontario
Machine Knife Factory, Lancaster, N.Y.

Branches Carrying Complete Stock In The
Following Cities:

Atlanta
Memphis
Chicago
Minneapolis

New Orleans
New York City
Portland, Ore.
San Francisco

Seattle
Paris, France
Sdney, N. S. W.
Vancouver, B. C.



1200
VS.
12

THE average individual, engrossed with his own affairs, may not appreciate that the number of automobiles increased 1200% between 1913 and 1923, while the average price of gasoline for the entire year 1923, increased but 12% over the year 1913.

While the production of crude oil during the period increased 300%, the output of gasoline increased 600%—a noteworthy achievement.

Without the processes originated and developed by the Standard Oil Company (Indiana), this increased yield of gasoline could not have been obtained.

The Standard Oil Company (Indiana) has led in the adoption of improved methods in all departments of refining and marketing petroleum.

This Company has fostered the adoption of every new method which could influence lower production and distribution costs. The benefits resulting from these improvements have been reflected to the consumer in better service and better products.

The motorist driving through the Middle West is able to buy gasoline made by this Company at convenient intervals on city streets and country roads.

He may encounter all sorts of food and lodging—all kinds of roads—but he will find Standard Oil Company (Indiana) gasoline everywhere and everywhere the same, and the price will be low.

To maintain such a satisfactory condition of affairs, the Management of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) has dealt wisely with labor—employed capital sensibly—and used invention intelligently.

In this way it has been able to assume a generous share of the great burden of meeting a 1200% increased demand for gasoline while charging only 12% more for its products in 1923 than in 1913.

Standard Oil Company
(Indiana)

General Offices: Standard Oil Building

910 So. Michigan Ave.

Chicago, Ill.

Ingersoll



The
NEW INGERSOLL
 Improved YANKEE \$1.75

AROUND the world for rich and poor alike Ingersoll Watches keep good time and good faith.

Ingersolls are doing service as work watches for millions; and as all-around watches for millions more.

They cost little and keep reliable time.



The New Improved YANKEE is dependable, as always, but in addition it is a very handsome watch—with new features of grace and beauty.

It has the antique bow and crown, new hands and dial, damaskeened back plate, it is more closely cased and in general it has the appearance of a higher priced watch.

You can never appreciate what we are saying unless you see and examine the New YANKEE—at any Ingersoll dealer's.

Reliable Watches at Low Prices

Big Earnings From Many Sources

An investment in Cities Service Preferred stock provides a wide margin of safety and a return of over 7¾%.

The stronghold of Cities Service Company is its yearly sale of millions of dollars worth of electricity, natural and manufactured gas to an ever increasing population of millions of people in 19 states.

Cities Service Company also profits by large sales from its Oil Division, a complete unit in the petroleum industry, which supplies a variety of oil products to over 1300 cities and towns in the United States.

In each of the last thirteen years the earnings of the Company's public utility division alone have been more than sufficient to pay all dividend requirements on Cities Service Preferred stock. The large earnings derived from the Oil Division are simply added protection for Preferred stockholders.

Since the Preferred stock was issued, the average yearly earnings of the Company have amounted to more than three times Preferred dividend requirements.

Send for Preferred stock circular P-103 and booklet describing Cities Service Company

Henry L. Doherty & Company

60 Wall Street, New York

BRANCH OFFICES IN

PRINCIPAL CITIES





EVICTED for extortion

Old servant, employed 20 years, found to be a common thief

THIS is the story of the Joneses, who live in a small home in the suburbs. The dishonest servant was their old-fashioned heater. Fuel bills had been terrible, but the Joneses thought that the cost of replacing the old coal waster would be more terrible.

One day they made a great discovery.

They added up their fuel bills for 20 years and divided the total by three, which gave them the amount that an ARCOLA Heating Outfit would save.

They were astonished. "Why, in a very short time an IDEAL

ARCOLA will pay for itself," they exclaimed, "and thereafter it will put a good round sum into the bank every year."

When Mr. Jones is convinced about a thing, he does something about it. The picture above is the last chapter; the old thieving servant has been evicted and an IDEAL ARCOLA is in its place.

Don't you think that there is a good moral in this story for *you*? Write for the book Jones wrote for and get the full facts.

Your Heating Contractor is our Distributor
AMERICAN RADIATOR COMPANY
Dept. AF1 1803 Elmwood Ave., Buffalo, N.Y.
Branches in all principal cities

IDEAL BOILERS
COAL OIL GAS
and AMERICAN RADIATORS
save fuel

Botany Worsted Mills

Passaic, New Jersey

New York Offices:

200 Fifth Avenue, New York

A-B *Ginger Ale*

A quality product
from the House of

ANHEUSER-BUSCH

St. Louis



*Also Manufacturers of Budweiser,
Grape Bouquet, Bevo and Malt Nutrine*



Hotel Continental

"Centre of New York's Activities"

Broadway at Forty-first St.
NEW YORK CITY

Five Minutes from the Pennsylvania and
Grand Central Terminals; Within Easy
Access of the Retail Shopping Dis-
trict and Surrounded by
Forty Theatres

300 OUTSIDE ROOMS

Each With Private Bath

RATES:

Single: \$2.50 \$3.00 \$3.50 \$4.00

Double: \$4.50 \$5.00 \$6.00 \$7.00

COMFORT OF OUR GUESTS
Our First Consideration

MAJESTIC,
World's Largest
Ship



SPEND CHRISTMAS IN EUROPE

Convenient, comfortable and inexpensive transatlantic service offered by our fleet of Cabin Steamers and the Second and Third Cabins of our express liners. Sailings from New York, Boston and Philadelphia to all principal European ports.

Rates as low as \$90.00.

For complete information regarding rates and sailing dates, etc., apply to

WHITE STAR LINE
AMERICAN LINE  **RED STAR LINE**
INTERNATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE COMPANY

No. 1 Broadway, New York, the company's offices
elsewhere or authorized agents.

Fun Everywhere with a

Radiola

(REG. U. S. PAT. OFFICE)



This symbol of
quality is your
protection.

Fun—music—news—education—all on the air. Listen in with a Radiola. There are Radiolas of many sizes—each noted for power, long distance, and dependability—for quality and simplicity. Be sure to look for the **Radiola** name on the receiving set you buy.

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

SALES OFFICES: DEPT. 164

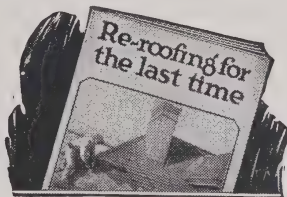
233 Broadway New York, N. Y.

10 So. La Salle Street

433 California Street

Chicago, Ill.

San Francisco, Cal.



This book—one penny

Mail a penny post-card at once to Johns-Manville, Inc., 292 Madison Avenue at Forty-first Street, New York City, for this booklet—"Re-roofing for the last time."

Even if you are not ready to re-roof now, this book will give you some dollar-saving information on the subject. And if you are forced to re-roof now, don't decide on the method or material until you have read this booklet. It may save you money.



JOHNS-MANVILLE, Inc.

292 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.

Branches in 62 Large Cities

DWIGHT P. ROBINSON & COMPANY

INCORPORATED
ENGINEERS AND CONSTRUCTORS
NEW YORK

CHICAGO

PHILADELPHIA

YOUNGSTOWN

LOS ANGELES

ATLANTA

MONTREAL

RIO DE JANEIRO



The Hind & Harrison Plush Co.

CLARK MILLS, N. Y.



CHICAGO SALESROOMS:
125 South Market St.

NEW YORK SALESROOM:
225 Fourth Avenue

INTEGRITY GUARANTEED

THE F & D's facilities for serving Union Labor include Fidelity Bonds for Secretaries, Treasurers and other officials of National and State Federations. These bonds guarantee an honest accounting of all funds handled by officials and make sure that the affairs of the various associations will be properly conducted.

Wherever there is a Local Union there is an F & D Representative ready to supply the bonds needed for the protection of its funds. Unusually prompt service on the part of all F & D Representatives in the execution of bonds and the payment of just claims is made possible by the location of branch offices or general agencies in most of the principal cities in the country.

FIDELITY AND DEPOSIT COMPANY OF MARYLAND

"The Bonding Company"

BALTIMORE

Fidelity and Surety Bonds and Burglary Insurance



*An Enviably
Record of Satisfactory Results*

belongs to dyestuffs bearing the name
American Dyewood Company. They are
made in a full line of Natural and Artificial
colors to meet every requirement.

AMERICAN DYEWOOD CO.

NEW YORK—PHILADELPHIA—BOSTON—HAMILTON ONT.
WORKS AT CHESTER, PA.

Snowdrift is *rich*

—much richer than butter—but so pure
and fresh and delicate that it improves, not
changes, the flavor of things cooked with it.

FOR MAKING
CAKE, BISCUIT AND PASTRY AND
FOR WHOLESOME FRYING

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Warning to Advertisers!

Protect yourself from being defrauded. Read the following Report of the Executive Council and action of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Scranton, Pa., on December 14, 1901, in reference to DECEPTIVE PUBLICATIONS:



A NUMBER of souvenir books have been published in which the name of the American Federation of Labor has been used without authority or sanction of any kind from either the American Federation of Labor or its officers. The good name of our movement is thereby impaired, the interests of our fellow-workers injured, and fair-minded business men imposed upon and deceived. During the year we have endeavored to impress upon all that the only publication in which advertisements are received is our official monthly magazine, the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST; and we have also endeavored to influence a more straightforward course by those who have transgressed in the direction indicated. In this particular we have not been as successful as we should be pleased to be enabled to report to you. However, we are more concerned with the future than the past; and in order to be helpful in eliminating this cause of grievous complaint, we make the following recommendations:

FIRST—That we shall insist that no body of organized labor, nor shall any person issue a souvenir book claiming that such book or any other publication is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

SECOND—That any city chosen by a convention of the American Federation of Labor to hold the convention following shall not directly or indirectly through its Central Labor Union or otherwise issue a souvenir book claiming that such book is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

THIRD—That in the event of any such souvenir book being projected or about to be issued, directly or indirectly, by the Central Labor body in the city in which the convention was selected to be held, in violation of the letter and spirit of these recommendations, the Executive Council may change the city in which the convention is to be held to the one which received the next highest number of votes for that honor.

FOURTH—That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prosecute any person or persons in the courts who shall in any way issue souvenir books, directories, or other publications in which the name of the American Federation of Labor is used as publisher, owner or beneficiary.

FIFTH—That it be again emphasized that the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, and is the only publication in which advertisements are received.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, A. F. OF L.

Report of Committee to Convention on the Above Report.

Perhaps there has been no more prolific source of dishonesty perpetrated in the name of organized labor than that involved in the publication of souvenir books. Unscrupulous projectors have victimized merchants and other friends of the movement in a most shameful fashion, and your committee heartily agrees with the strictures of the Executive Council upon the subject. We emphatically agree with the suggestions offered as a remedy and recommend their adoption. As an additional means to this end we would recommend that there be published in a conspicuous place in each issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST a notice to the effect that the American Federation of Labor is not sponsor nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Adopted by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, December 14, 1901.





DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS OF THE
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Vol. XXXI

OCTOBER, 1924

No. 10

The People's Will Must Rule

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

THE party of Abraham Lincoln which resorted to the expedient of increasing the size of the United States Supreme Court in order to reverse the Dred Scott decision has now constituted itself a defender of the Supreme Court and the defender of the usurpation of power which that court has practiced.

The American Federation of Labor believes that a majority of the people of the United States are opposed to further usurpation of power by the Supreme Court and are opposed to a system under which a court, composed of judges who are appointed for life, can veto legislation passed by elected representatives. There is involved in this opinion no attack on the court as such, and there is no desire anywhere to deprive the court of what should be its proper functions and power.

For political campaign purposes the vociferous General Dawes and the cool and cautious President Coolidge are seeking to make it appear that the opponents of unlimited power for the Supreme Court are in reality little better than revolutionists and are striking drastically at the most sacred foundations of the Republic. Most of the adjectives in the dictionary have been applied to those who support the declaration of the American Federation of Labor and the plank in the platform of Senator La Follette demanding the curbing of the improper powers now exercised by the court.

Those who criticise the proposal to deprive the Supreme Court of its unlimited power to nullify acts of Congress on the ground of radicalism and as an assault on established institutions should read again the proposal enunciated by Theodore Roosevelt in the Progressive party platform in 1912. This should be read particularly by those former followers of Colonel Roosevelt who are now unable to see the constructive nature of a proposal

which is indeed less sweeping than that which they then advocated and which they then approved. That platform contained the following section:

Popular Review of Judicial Decisions.—The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end, it pledges itself to provide:

First—That when an act passed under the police power of the State is held unconstitutional under the State Constitution by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the act to become law, notwithstanding such decision.

Second—That every decision of the highest Appellate Court of a State declaring an act of the Legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.

It has always been the practice of those who favor strong centralized governments and of those who favor the perpetuation of autocratic power anywhere to attribute dangerously radical and revolutionary tendencies to those favoring the extension or enlargement of the powers of self-government. The question of what to do about the Supreme Court in this respect is not merely a passing campaign issue, nor, for that matter, is it a campaign issue at all in the usual meaning of that term. It involves a vital principle which will never be settled until it is settled properly. The whole question, of course, was given life by the pen of Chief Justice Marshall who laid the foundation for all of the autocratic powers with which the Supreme Court has since clothed itself and with which it has more than once so effectively over-turned the expressed will of the people. It is, of course, true that eminent constitutional lawyers differ sharply as to the constitutionality of the power exercised by the Supreme Court in declaring unconstitutional acts passed by Congress, but it is equally true that the preponderating opinion is against the court on that issue. It is equally true, if not more so, that the people have a right to restrict the power of the court by suitable constitutional acts regardless of whether the court in its exercise of power is acting constitutionally or otherwise.

While labor, in harmony with great numbers of eminent jurists, contends that the Supreme Court is guilty of usurpation of power, it also contends that the use of that power, whether by usurpation or otherwise, is undemocratic and ought to be stopped. General Dawes and his fellow campaigners to the contrary notwithstanding, there is nothing radical about this proposal. The fact is, it is a proposal which ought not be characterized by any of the customary adjectives because it has nothing to do with any issue except the issue of autocratic power versus democratic power. Nothing is involved except the contest between those two philosophies of government. In the United States there ought to be no such contest because if the United States as a nation is committed to any philosophy of government it is that of democratic government in which all power and authority are derived

from the people with their consent and through their expressed mandate.

Of course, there are those in the United States who have little liking for democracy and who would if they could, continually curb the powers of the people to govern themselves. There have been such individuals from the very beginning. They harried the Continental Army during the revolution and they sat in the Constitutional Convention. They have been found in public life ever since and they are no less active today than formerly. Acting as their most explosive spokesman at the moment, General Dawes sees dire calamity ahead if the Congress of the United States is to be enabled finally to write into law the will of the people.

The present situation is that the Supreme Court by a decision of 5 to 4 may declare null and void any act passed by Congress. The court having so decided, Congress has no further power. The demand is not that the court be deprived of all power to pass on the constitutionality of legislation, but that it be deprived solely of its power of final veto. What is demanded is that the people finally may be able to out-voice the Supreme Court and write their will into law in spite of the Supreme Court.

It is demanded that Congress shall have the power to reenact any law declared invalid by the Supreme Court and that upon reenactment the law shall stand. This does not contemplate hasty overturning of Supreme Court decisions, nor does it contemplate the enactment of legislation over the head of the Supreme Court during a temporary wave of emotion or during any condition which might lead Congress to do what later might be regretted. It must be born in mind that cases do not reach the Supreme Court in a day and that it would be little less than a miracle if the same Congress ever got the opportunity to act for the second time upon a measure which found disfavor in the Supreme Court.

The first Child Labor Law probably reached the Supreme Court as rapidly as any law could ever reach that tribunal and was declared unconstitutional. The Congress which enacted that first law was not the Congress which enacted the second law. If there had been in effect a constitutional provision limiting the power of the Supreme Court, the following Congress could have reenacted the act and it would have been the law of the land.

It is extremely doubtful whether General Dawes will be able to add any recruits to his ranks by means of his campaign to pin the tag of dangerous radicalism on those who propose to constitutionally remove the power of final veto from the Supreme Court. The American people will never forsake constitutional government but they are extremely likely in the future, as well as in the past, to change their constitution by the methods provided in that constitution so that their changing needs and changing desires may be accommodated. It is a certainty which General Dawes may find it difficult to understand but which is none the less true that they will not tolerate any permanent bar to the full and free expression of their will and to their full and free exercise of the rights and powers of self-government. They do not overlook, first of all, the fact that the Supreme Court is a judicial body and not a legislative body, and secondly they do not overlook

the fact that Supreme Court decisions may be reached by a majority of one which, under the present powers exercised by the Supreme Court, gives to one Supreme Court justice a final veto power which would not for a moment be entrusted even to the President of the United States. Nor do they overlook the fact that Supreme Court judges are appointed for life, that these appointments are frequently in payment of political obligations and that popular disagreement with a decision is no ground for their removal.

Every predatory and plutocratic interest in the Republic opposes the proposal to limit the powers of the Supreme Court to those functions obviously intended in the constitution and adhered to by the court until the advent on the bench of Chief Justice John Marshall. Little else could be expected of General Dawes and little else could be expected of Calvin Coolidge than that they should align themselves with the desires of those great interests which feel as they always have felt toward the extension of democratic self-government.

General Dawes is a powerful banker among powerful bankers and he has been running true to form. He has no sympathy with the aspirations of the masses of the people and he could not be expected to have it.

The fundamental characteristic underlying all others in the make-up of Calvin Coolidge is that things are about right as they are and any notable change is nothing less than wicked. There need be no question as to the mental integrity of President Coolidge. He is doubtless sincere in his feeling for what he regards as an almost sacred institution. He has faith in Massachusetts whose electoral vote he counts as assured but his faith in the wisdom of the people of the rest of the country is unquestionably limited. He is almost certainly deeply distrustful of the wisdom of those who live west of the Mississippi River. He has undoubtedly a puritanical desire for puritanical justice, but this desire is unenlightened by any understanding of either the psychology or the requirements of the people of the country. So Calvin Coolidge inevitably must stand for what is, even though he is none too clear about how it came to be.

The question of depriving the Supreme Court of its final veto power is one which can not be disposed of by so simple an expedient as that adopted by President Coolidge and General Dawes. Tagging it with adjectives not only does not touch the merits of the case but it reflects a total inability to understand the case or to comprehend the determination of the people.

The American people have long enough witnessed the use of this arbitrary and undemocratic power by the Supreme Court, and they have long enough tolerated the thwarting of their will by that tribunal. The power which the court has taken unto itself is a power too great to be entrusted to any but the elected representatives of the people. The best of courts is not good enough to possess and wield such power.

A nation which is by every tradition and by every tendency democratic will not permanently tolerate such an undemocratic possession of power anywhere.

The issue is an issue in this campaign solely because the spokesmen of a great political party have seen fit to champion the cause of arbitrary and tyrannical power. It will remain an issue until the people are able to overcome and correct a situation wholly incompatible with democracy and wholly intolerable to those who have faith in their power to govern themselves.

A Notable Anniversary

A Short History of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia and Carpenters' Hall

By FRANK DUFFY

General Secretary, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

IN 1724, the "Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia" was founded. Its membership consisted of both master and journeyman carpenters. The objects of the company, as specified in its articles of incorporation, were much after the style of the old guilds. They were:

1. To obtain instruction in the science of architecture.
2. To assist such of its members or the wives or children of members as should be by accident in need of support.



3. To adopt such a system of measurement and prices that everyone concerned in building may have the value of his money and every workman the *worth of his labor*.

At that time the term "master carpenter" was practically synonymous with that of journeyman. A feeling of common interest prevailed among masters and journeymen. The master was usually little removed in worldly goods and independence from the journeyman. This bond of common interest and the necessity to form some sort of organization to protect trade secrets, standardize working conditions and wages, and place the trade on a footing to meet the changing industrial conditions, was the reason why the company was formed.

Among the first results obtained, was the fixing of a uniform scale of prices, similar to the working rules of the local unions of the present day, through the establishment of a book of prices, according to which carpentry work was thereafter appraised—

On the most equitable principles so that the workmen should have a fair recompense for their labor, and the owner receive the worth of his money.

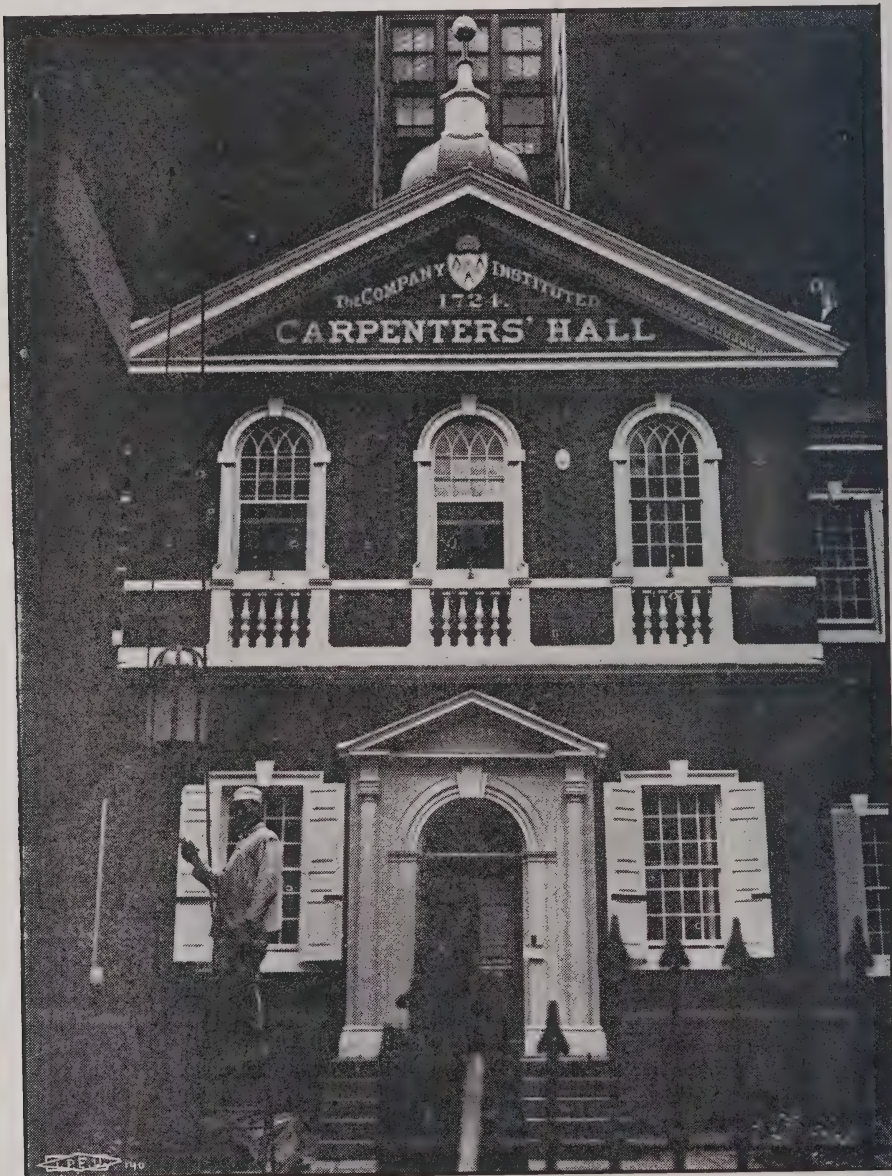
The by-laws of the company provided that:

There shall be a committee on the book of prices, consisting of five members, whose duty it shall be to fix a price on all new-fashioned carpenter work that may be introduced from time to time. It shall be the duty of said committee to settle any differences that may arise in the measurement and valuation of carpenters' work, between carpenters and their employers, or between members of the company measuring work together, and their decision shall be binding on the parties as respects the price of said work.

This book of prices was to be kept private among the members themselves; the law providing that:

Should a member show it to any person who is not a member, he shall pay, for the first offense, \$5; for the second offense, a further sum of \$10, and for the third offense, expulsion.

New photo of Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia. September 25th was the 150th anniversary of the First Continental Congress and the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Carpenters' Company. In this hall the first Congress met.



Copyright By Underwood & Underwood

It is interesting to note that something resembling the "Union," or, as it is inaccurately called, the "Closed" shop, was maintained by the company, for members were not allowed to accept less than the established scale of prices, or to be concerned in such work with *non-members* under pain of expulsion.

The by-laws also specified that:

Any member, widow, or minor children of a member, being in reduced circumstances, making application to the managing committee, they may relieve him, her or them at their discretion in any sum not exceeding \$40. It shall be the duty of the managing committee, on the application of any widow for quarterly allowance, to appoint two of their members to examine the case and if it shall appear to the committee that the net annual income of such widow does not exceed \$400 per annum, they shall place her on the list of widows for quarterly allowance. But when a greater amount shall be needed than the quarterly allowance specified by the by-laws, they shall lay a statement of the case before the company for its determination. The quarterly allowance to widows shall be \$30; to superannuated members, double that amount.

The beneficial features of the company corresponded closely with those of a modern trade union in death donations, membership superannuation and in social duties, such as helping unemployed members, relieving those in distress, visiting the sick, and burying the dead.

Toward the middle of the century, when the organization had been firmly established, the building of a *hall* became an object of much interest. In 1768 a lot on Chestnut Street was purchased, but no definite action was taken in erecting a building until 1770, when it was agreed that each member subscribe for shares in the amount of four pounds each. The plans were then prepared and approved and the building started on the 5th day of February, 1770. It was so far completed in 1771 that the annual meeting of the company was held in it. The building was not entirely completed until 1792. It is situated on Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, in the business district of Philadelphia. It is a quaint old brick building with a low tower of colonial style of architecture and is in a splendid state of preservation, and is now looked upon as one of the historic landmarks of the nation. Its hall was freely used in the beginning of the revolution, and it was there that all the Colonial Congress meetings were held prior to the Declaration of Independence. It was there, on September 5, 1774, that action was taken which finally culminated in the freedom and independence of the 13 colonies.

When the Continental Congress could not meet in the old State House, the patriotic carpenters willingly offered their hall as a meeting place and it was gladly accepted. Its fitness for the purpose appealed to the delegates. John Adams, in his "Journal of Correspondence," says:

It is a spacious hall, and above there is a chamber with an excellent library, a convenient chamber opposite to this, and a long entry where gentlemen may walk.

It was there the framework of our national independence was planned; it was there the historic declaration of colonial rights was drafted; it was there in 1787 that the Constitution of the United States was agreed upon, thereby making Carpenters' Hall memorable for its connection with the first united effort to obtain a redress of grievance from the mother country, which changed a loose league of separate colonies into a powerful, united nation.

American Cooperation With the League of Nations

By MANLEY O. HUDSON

THE participation of the American Government and American citizens in the work of the League of Nations has now grown to such an extent that one finds it difficult at times to believe that America is more than formally outside the League of Nations. In a recent pamphlet published by the World Peace Foundation, I endeavored to trace the history of this cooperation during the past four years. Since that pamphlet was written, however, several things have transpired which may be of interest to people who are not following the work of the League of Nations from day to day.

1. *Treaty of Mutual Assistance*.—For two years and more the Temporary Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments has had under consideration various suggestions for a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee. Lord Robert Cecil submitted a draft of such a treaty which was studied at great length and finally placed before the Fourth Assembly in September, 1923. The Assembly asked the various members of the League to express their opinions with reference to this draft, and opinions of various governments have been received in Geneva during the past few weeks. The United States Government was also asked to express an opinion concerning it, and Secretary Hughes has recently sent a communication to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations dealing with it. His comment is on the whole negative, and indicates no disposition of the present Government of the United States to push the matter.

The draft was also studied by a group of Americans, acting in their individual capacities, including General Bliss, General Harford, Mr. David Hunter Miller and Prof. James T. Shotwell. The American group found its ideas somewhat different from those of the League of Nations Commission, with the consequence that they produced a very interesting draft of a treaty for disarmament and security. When it became known in Geneva that this draft was on the way, the Council of the League authorized the Secretary General to communicate its text to the members of the Council. This communication was authorized during the month of June, and the American draft is now being studied by the various members of the Council. It will undoubtedly influence the replies of certain governments and their comments on the draft circulated by the Fourth Assembly in 1923.

2. *Arms Traffic*.—The Government of the United States has just sent Mr. Hugh Gibson, American Minister at Berne, to attend a meeting of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Reduction of Armaments and to participate in drafting a treaty on traffic in arms to replace the abortive St. Germain Convention dealing with that subject. Mr. Gibson and a secretary, Mr. Winslow, are in the League of Nations building as I write, but under their instructions they are unable to participate fully in the work of the Commission and they can do little more than to point out certain parts of the proposed draft to which the United States might have objection. The draft now being made

by the Temporary Mixed Commission will be submitted to the Council and Assembly at the end of the summer, and it is probable that an international conference will be called early next year to draw a definite text.

3. *Financial Reconstruction of Hungary*.—Mr. Jeremiah Smith, Jr., of Boston, is now acting as the League of Nations Commissioner-General in Buda-Pesth in connection with the financial reconstruction of Hungary. At the 29th session of the Council in June he made his first report to the Council. A part of the Hungarian loan has recently been floated in America.

4. *Legal Protection of the Poor*.—Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, of Boston, is taking a leading part in the Committee of Experts which will assemble in Geneva on July 30 to discuss possible means of international cooperation with reference to legal protection of the poor. This subject was brought before the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations by a member of the League, after initiative had been taken by an American committee headed by Col. John H. Wigmore, of North-Western University Law School.

5. *Intellectual Cooperation*.—Prof. Robert Millikan, of Pasadena, Calif., winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1923, is expected in Geneva on July 24 to attend the meeting of the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation. This commission is making wider and wider contacts in America, and its work is beginning to show some results.

6. *Memel*.—The International Convention concerning the Memel Settlement, drawn up by a commission headed by Mr. Norman Davis, formerly Under-secretary of State in the United States, has now been signed and put into force. The signatory powers are Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Lithuania. The treaty was registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations last week. This crowns another signal success of the League in dealing with political difficulties which might have led to war; the outstanding cases have been Aaland Islands, Vilna, Upper Silesia, Albanian frontier, Corfu, and Memel—a record of four years.

7. *Health*.—Mr. Gunn, of the Rockefeller Foundation, recently visited Geneva and completed the arrangements for a new subvention to be given to the League of Nations by the Rockefeller Foundation for maintaining at Singapore a special branch of the League of Nations Epidemiological Intelligence Service. This is a new kind of "Singapore base," which will probably have more effect in years to come than the naval base at Singapore which has recently been talked about.

The Rockefeller Foundation is this year contributing \$186,000 to the support of the current health work of the League of Nations. In this way only do Americans have any part in the financial support of the work of the League.

8. *Opium*.—The advisory committee on traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs will meet in Geneva in August. The session will be attended by Mr. Neville, representing the United States Department of State, as well as by Mrs. Hamilton Wright, of Washington, who is an assessor on the commission.

The work of the commission has been greatly assisted during the last year and a half by the collaboration of the United States. This is an inter-

esting reversal of the original policy of the United States in opposition to the League's taking any part in the execution of the Opium Convention of 1912.

9. *League of Nations Non-Partisan Association.*—Mr. Charles C. Bauer, of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, has arrived in Geneva and is opening an office at the International Club for the summer. He will do a great deal in entertaining Americans who come to Geneva for the purpose of getting some impression of the activities of the League. The number of these Americans is increasing year by year. In addition, Mr. Bauer will be the American secretary of the Geneva Institute of International Relations, to be held during the second week in August, and which now promises to attract a great many Americans interested in the study of international problems.

10. *Development of International Law.*—Great progress has recently been made in developing international law. The 16 international labor conventions, some of which were adopted at Washington in 1919, have recently received 29 ratifications. The Treaty on Obscene Publications has now been signed by 43 states. The Customs Formalities Convention, the various transit and communications conventions, the Treaty on Commercial Arbitration, and the White Slave Convention are all being accepted satisfactorily. The United States has not yet signed any of these treaties, but some of them are being considered in Washington and may yet be approved by our Government.

Thus, the work of the League goes on from week to week, from month to month, and from year to year. We must say that the United States is not a member. But fortunately it can not be said that the United States has no part in this effort of 54 peoples to organize international cooperation for peace. We do not help to pay the bills. We do not offer full encouragement. We do not enable the Government representatives we send to assume any leadership in representing us. But neither do we any longer act as if any substitute for the League were waiting around the corner.

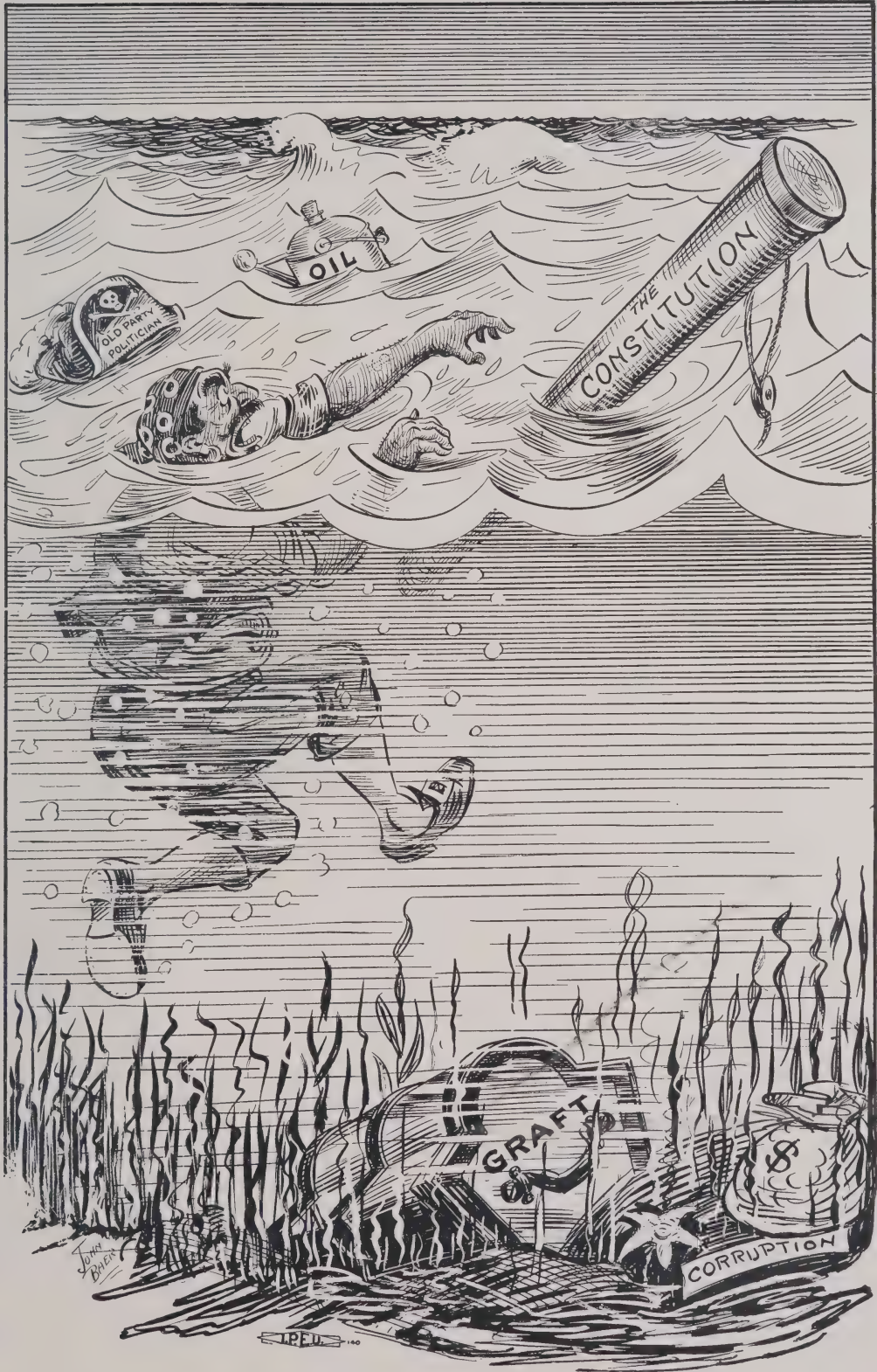
Geneva, July 10, 1924.

In the campaign to elect men to Congress, regardless of their political group or party affiliation and deserving of Labor's support, there must be unity of purpose and method, therefore leadership must lie with the only organization having the right to speak for the entire labor movement. In this the American Federation of Labor yields to none but will maintain steadfast its leadership, guidance and direction.

In the selection and election of men to public office within the several states leadership must lie with our state federations of labor, and in city or county elections this right must rest with central labor bodies.

Organized labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is not partisan to any political party or group. It is partisan to principles—the principles of freedom, of justice, of democracy.

MY KINGDOM FOR AN ISSUE



EDITORIALS

By
SAMUEL GOMPERS

Republican and Democratic politicians, as between themselves, are without a real issue in this campaign.

WHY LABOR SHOULD SUPPORT LA FOLLETTE AND WHEELER

Between the two national platforms and the two national tickets on the one hand and the La Follette ticket and platform on the other hand there are real issues.

Here, in terse language, is the description of the La Follette platform as set forth by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

These candidates have proffered a platform in which the economic issues of the day are met in a manner more nearly conforming to Labor's proposals than any other platform.

This platform pledges a remedy for the injunction evil.

It pledges the right to organize and collectively to cease work.

It pledges protection of the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

It pledges abolishment of the Railroad Labor Board.

It pledges a measure to annul the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws permanently unconstitutional.

It declares for direct election of president and vice-president and election of federal judges.

It recommends prompt ratification by the states of the Child Labor constitutional amendment.

It pledges subsequent federal legislation to protect child life.

These are issues in which all wage earners are concerned.

Every proposal pointed out in the La Follette platform is in the direction of political and economic freedom. Every proposal is constructive. Every proposal meets a vital need of our time.

The effort has been made and will continue to be made by anti-labor politicians to make it appear that Labor's support of the La Follette platform is qualified. That could not be so, if for no other reason than the very good reason that to support any other ticket in this campaign would be to trade with the enemies of Labor and to compromise with those whose pledges and commitments are in the interest of the enemies of the masses of the people.

If any one should ask why Labor is so pronounced in its advocacy of the election of Senators La Follette and Wheeler as president and vice-president of the United States, let the answer be given that representatives of the American labor movement are always on guard to protect and promote the rights and interests of the working people of America. And how could such watchfulness be better shown than by the pledge made to support those candidates? The American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council has declared that Labor had no other choice than to endorse the candidacies of Senators La Follette and Wheeler.

It is true that since the declaration by the Executive Council endorsing the candidacy of La Follette and Wheeler other candidates as an after-

thought to their party conventions have been spurred to make some declarations of "sympathy" for Labor. But to our fellow-workers and fellow-citizens who have any doubts as to the position of these candidates on questions pertaining to Labor, we suggest that they should consult the official party declarations contained in the platforms adopted by the democratic and the republican national conventions, and then compare them with the platform, only parts of which have been quoted here, the platform upon which the enlightened, liberty and humanity-loving citizenship are asked to vote in support of La Follette and Wheeler.

In this political campaign the American Federation of Labor pledges its support whole-heartedly to those who speak for the fundamental principles to which we are committed. We can conceive of no higher plane upon which to raise our standard of performance of the duties of citizenship than to test out individuals by these fundamental principles of human welfare. We hold it to be the duty of men and women of labor to know the records and positions of candidates upon these issues and to cast their ballots accordingly.

In this election it is of the utmost importance that every wage earner vote. Do not fail to register. Do not fail to remind the other members of your family to register. Leave no effort unmade to register the largest possible vote in support of Labor's fundamental principles of human welfare.

It serves no good purpose to declare that the conditions of Labor are worse than they are in reality. The trade union movement neither exists nor grows upon the philosophy of despair. Those who are afflicted with a belief in that depressing philosophy are certain that "things can never be better until they are worse." In other words, there can be no remedy for present ills without a reorganization of society and there can never be reorganization without revolution which will not come until conditions are unbearable. Fortunately, only a few now hold to that mistaken notion, but many allow themselves in the heat of battle to decry conditions out of all relation to the truth in the hope of strengthening the argument, not for revolution, but for political change.

The condition of wage earners is in every way better today than ever in the history of the world. That is a generality, but it is a true generality. This is not because of any wisdom of political government, but in spite of the unwisdom of it. It is not because of the sagacity and concern of the president, but in spite of the lack of those qualities. It is not because of the beneficence of an administration, but in spite of the frequent hostilities and ignorance of an administration. A political administration may to some extent hamper the progress of the wage earners—and a political administration might do much to smooth the path of the wage earners, but no political administration can entirely halt progress or retard our movement. That is something apart from and above the realm of politics.

The argument for political change need not be based upon any despair over present economic conditions. There is enough of political argument

to justify and cry aloud to the high heavens for change without a resort to exaggerations of economic wrongs or without the painting of economic ills which do not exist.

Wages are not depressed today. It is idle to inveigh against the administration on the ground of falling wages. Wages are not falling. This is not because of the administration; the administration has nothing to do with it. The president probably has no adequate idea of the condition of wages and he is doubtless much more concerned with the state of electoral opinion than he is with the family bank balance of bricklayers and teamsters.

Wages have been maintained because the trade union movement of America refused to accept reductions of wages. That is the one and only reason why wages are today not lower. Wages are more nearly adequate than ever before because the wage earners have come to understand how to maintain them in that condition and how to improve them as time goes on. Wages are not high enough. They never have been high enough. But they come nearer to an approximation of justice than ever before. This is definitely and absolutely in spite of the administration of which President Coolidge was and is a part and which he hopes to perpetuate, with the help of the furious General Dawes.

There is local unemployment in many places. It may be said to be acute in spots. This is sad, tragic and needless. Wages may be low or lacking in localities. But in general wages have been maintained and there is no general wave of unemployment. It is a grievous fault that there is any unemployment, but we shall arrive nowhere by asserting that there is more than there is. We are not a despairing people. We do not seek out sad things for the purpose of satisfying a craving for sadness. We do not seek funerals for the sake of weeping. We are not that kind of a people. Let us not be drawn into that way of thinking for the sake of seeming temporary expediency. Real progress must be won on a foundation of fact. Too much economic and political tinkering has been done on a guess-work basis.

The American labor movement places a full valuation on the efficacy of political action. It will not be snared into the political maelstrom body and soul; it will not pin its whole faith and hope in politics, but it will use politics where such use is fitting and it does understand the scope and purpose of political government and political institutions. It looks to political institutions for the solution of those issues which are political, but it looks with equal sureness to the world of industry to adjust those matters which are essentially industrial. Labor does not look upon political government as the guardian of every human destiny or the fixer of every wrong. Labor exalts the State and will protect the State, but it will not make a fetish of the State or place upon the State an unfair and an impossible burden. The truth is that the more the State is freed from improper and illogical duties and burdens the better will it discharge those duties and obligations which properly belong to it. If that truth could sink home to all Americans

political campaigning would soon change for the better—it would be more intelligently done.

The American Federation of Labor has declared its faith in the ability of industry to solve its own problems through the natural and inevitable growth of democratic methods and practices within industry. Perhaps the facts of today justify that faith as much as any set of facts in the history of industry. There has been, during the present Republican administration, such an onslaught against Labor as America has never witnessed. Implacable hatred was in the air. Some of this came from the administration; some came from organized, blind employers. The administration gave its sympathy and its help to those employers. Mr. Daugherty did not leave the cabinet because of his bigoted and brutal injunction against the railroad workers. He left when his connection with the oil scandal seemed to make him a political liability at a time when assets were sorely needed.

President Coolidge was a member of the administration of the late President Harding. It was made a point that he should be more than vice-presidents customarily had been. He sat in the cabinet, to listen and to advise. He was there when Daugherty went rushing to Chicago to secure the most rabid injunction ever sanctioned by a court. He protested neither then nor since. He did not rebuke Daugherty, nor has he rebuked any Federal judge. The language of the Clayton Act is not the language of Coolidge, nor is it the language of his political school.

It was at that time that the miscalled open-shop drive was at its peak. Unseeing employers, banded together under the lead of professional "secretaries" and promoters, were at the height of their enthusiasm for the shop closed tight against union men. There was no rebuke to these blind men. They were what in older days would have been court favorites. It was then that General Dawes arose from the big and easy chair of his banking house, organized the fatuous Minute Men of the Constitution and took a train to Florida to urge upon the complacent president and the calculating, ignorant politician, Daugherty, that this campaign must be waged on the "open shop issue," that no other would do and that the hour had struck for war on the unions to a finish. That is the Dawes who has not yet forgotten the Lorimer bank scandal, the Dawes who is now running with Coolidge, the Dawes who before the Union League Club of Chicago on February 22, 1923, glorified the Daugherty injunction as "the beginning of a new era of law and order in this country."

The history of the administration has been one which, in the main, has been written by opponents of Labor—and it may be said in passing that personally conducted Labor Day gatherings at the White House do not erase the record.

To go further, such unemployment as exists today is largely in those centers where the administration has its staunchest friends. What more stalwart campaign contributor is to be found than William Wood, head of the woolen trust? Where are there more hopeful supporters of Calvin Coolidge and General Dawes than among the cotton mill magnates of New

England? Perhaps the Massachusetts shoe industry contributes its quota of Coolidge supporters, for the Coolidge managers claim not only Massachusetts, but all New England. Yet in those three industries unemployment is keener than in any other section of the country. And it is so while cottons and woolens and shoes are imported from abroad for sale in New England. The political House of Coolidge and Dawes is the House of Big Business and it offers Labor nothing but palaver and meaningless promises. But, however that may be, the House of Coolidge can not destroy the Labor movement, can not force it to accept reductions of wages, can not compel it to relinquish cherished rights, can not break up the world of industry and can not prevent industry from going its way to greater democracy, greater self-control, greater enlightenment and ultimate complete supremacy over the affairs of its own realm.

That is what politicians generally do not understand. Coolidge doesn't dream of it, Dawes would bluster at it, Davis wouldn't know what it was about and Bryan would reply to it with a good old Populist speech after the manner of his meandering brother. The men and women of industry have got to come to a great faith in their own destiny, a great understanding of their own wisdom and their own powers and a full knowledge of the machinery that lies under their own hands.

Labor is fighting in this campaign, as it has always fought, to make of our political government the best possible government, to clear the industrial road of improper political obstacles, to enlarge the horizon of political and industrial freedom and to lift wherever possible the hand of ignorance and oppression.

Labor values politics for what it is—and it is much, indeed. But it does not look to politics for a cure-all. Industry can not come to its full stature and freedom by gurgling at the neck of a nostrum bottle.

Labor understands that when a president seeks to take political credit—as President Coolidge did on Labor Day—for present wage rates, that it is sheer political boasting for political purposes. It is valuable that he should commit himself to the idea that high wages should be paid, but it is foolishness for him to take credit to his party for wages when they are relatively good.

Labor understands what harm ignorant politicians may do to industry by blind, self-seeking or time-serving action. It always wants to prevent such action. But Labor understands that the constructive action, the patient building, the evolutionary development that must bring industry to its highest state of perfection and to that point where it affords to all the most nearly complete degree of justice, must come from within industry and not from the White House or the Capitol.

Labor is in this campaign to improve and purge our political government and to help make it better serve all the people as a political government. For that reason it is committed to the only possible course—the unqualified support of the only candidates who understand how that is to be done, Senator Robert M. La Follette and Senator Burton K. Wheeler. But for the perfection of the world of industry, for the constructive work of

bringing the industrial world to what it must be, for the righting of purely industrial wrongs, Labor looks ahead to steady effort in mine, mill, workshop and factory, in patient effort with employers, engineers, management and all who serve and contribute usefully in that great realm.

A significant industrial movement is the campaign for greater simplification of manufactured products. The United States Department of Commerce reports that American industries are giving more serious attention now than ever before to the reduction of industrial waste arising from an unnecessary number of styles, models, sizes, etc. In accordance with a plan worked out under the direction of Secretary Hoover the following industries are working on "simplified lines":

WASTE ELIMINATION Lumber, checking waste estimated at \$250,000,000 yearly; metal lath, reduced from 125 to 24 varieties; hotel chinaware, 700 items reduced to 160; forged tools, elimination of 46 per cent in types, etc.; paper, reduced to 8 sizes, etc.; roofing slate, 21 thicknesses to 10, 60 sizes to 30, etc.; and black-board slate, simplified from 90 sizes to 3, etc. A beginning was made July 1 on this program. Equally important changes are scheduled to go into effect January 1.

What industry can do in the field of simplification it can do in other fields. It can move toward greater efficiency, toward better working conditions for the men and women who do the productive toil, toward greater service to the public which buys and uses its products. In fact, industry is already at work on these problems. The molders' trade long ago took action along these lines in Ohio. Recent illustrations are given by the action of the paper box trade in moving to eliminate various abuses and by the action of the women's garment trade, spurred by the organized workers, in moving to stabilize the trade and in eliminating cheap and shoddy goods. The elimination of waste in industry and the development of both management and organization methods make all creative effort more effective and more economical, hence, increases the materials that contribute to better living for all.

Congress is to be made subservient to the Chief Executive. It is to be snatched out of the constitution by political legerdemain so that there will be only two branches of government—the executive and judicial.

BELITTling THE CONGRESS And how is this to be done without amendment to the constitution? Simple enough, its sponsors say. By electing a sufficient number of rubber-stamp congressmen who will vote and talk always as directed by the chief executive who himself may be a rubber stamp for those who seek special privileges that can not be obtained from a people's congress.

Now and then we hear talk about the president not being able to have certain legislation enacted and that the present congress has not accepted without question all he recommends.

Neither will congress desert the interests of the people, it is claimed, and knuckle down to the demands of the special interests.

Therefore the edict has gone forth that all members of congress elected

in November must be "dependable"—that is, they must pledge themselves to do the bidding of the chief executive, whoever he may be, no matter how offensive such a course would be to the electorate or injurious to the nation.

This idea was first advanced in the Cleveland convention of the Republican party, which refused to nominate former Senator William S. Kenyon for vice-president because, it was declared, he was not "dependable."

The keynote orator of that gathering declared that the reason the president had not accomplished certain legislation was because there were not enough members of congress who would do as he bade them. The speaker undoubtedly had in mind the Mellon tax plan and the anxiety of the administration to relieve the well-to-do from taxation by placing the burden upon the already overloaded and bent backs of those least able to bear it.

He undoubtedly also referred to those loyal congressmen who, in the face of most determined opposition, exposed the rotten corruption of officials of the government.

If the chief executive had had a "dependable" congress there would have been no Teapot Dome investigation and consequently no court proceedings to punish the guilty.

Mr. Daugherty and his stalking-mate, Jesse Smith, backed by W. J. Burns, still would be doing "business" in the little green house on K Street if Congress had been "dependable."

Colonel Forbes could be just as well as not enjoying without fear or qualms of conscience profits wrung from the sufferings of those who were willing to give their lives to keep this country politically free if congress had not been so "undependable."

Mr. Fall, Mr. Daugherty and Mr. Denby would still be members of the president's cabinet if the sixty-eighth congress had been "dependable."

Aliens ineligible to citizenship would be admitted as immigrants, the same as assimilable citizens of other countries whose peoples in the early days of the nation's struggles helped to build our beloved Republic, if congress had been "dependable."

There would have been no adjusted compensation for our boys who offered the supreme sacrifice in the great war if we had had a "dependable" congress.

The American people should awaken to the plot against the tried and true members of the present congress. Strict orders have been sent into every congressional district to see that only those who will be "dependable" are nominated and elected to congress.

Those who are striving to elect a congress that will be subservient to the interests are using the constitution of the United States as a smoke screen to hide their ulterior purposes. While secretly working to the end that the next congress shall be so constructed that it will sacrifice the interests of the people, they maliciously charge that the loyal, patriotic members of the present congress both in the house and senate are enemies of the constitution.

This is the amazing feature of the amazing propaganda which is intended to defeat those who have been true to the people and elect those who will in the future prevent investigations that will bring forth into the light of

publicity the seething volcano of corruption in our government. At the same time they will vote for any legislation inimical to the interests of the people because they will be "dependable" congressmen.

It is time the people of our great nation, the greatest on earth, should cast aside their apathy and understand before election that a "dependable" congress is a congress of rubber stamps.

Those who advocate making congress subservient to the president do so for one purpose. That is to place in the hands of one man the power to direct legislation and to suppress any attempt to protect the people from dishonest officials.

Mussolini asked for no more. In fact, the idea must have originated from the action of the Italian dictator in forcing legislation that made it possible for him to have absolute power over the Italian parliament and therefore over all legislation.

The voters should not be deceived by this bunk of a "dependable" congress. They must support and vote for those members of the present congress who in the first session demonstrated that they held the interests of the people inviolate and could not be turned aside either under partisan political pressure or for personal gain.

The constitution provides for three branches of government—the legislative, executive and judicial. Should the political intriguers succeed in fooling the people so that they will vote for members of congress who will blindly follow the dictates of the chief executive, then there will be only two branches of government—the executive and judicial.

We therefore urge upon all who believe the legislative branch of our government should continue to function as the constitution provides to vote for those candidates irrespective of party affiliations who have proved their sincerity in defending the rights and interests of the people. At the same time we urge that they vote against any candidate who bases the grounds for his election on the claim that he will be "dependable" to the chief executive instead of dependable to the people.

The sixty-eighth congress is the best in many years. We hope the sixty-ninth congress will be a better congress than the sixty-eighth. And it will be if the voters will be *true* to themselves.

The election of a president that will serve the people honestly is of no more importance than the election of a congress that will be true to the people irrespective of who is elected president.

Again the Pan-American Federation of Labor has vindicated the vision which brough it into being. This time the wage earners of Nicaragua are the beneficiaries. While it is too early to estimate the full results it is safe to say that a new impulse is running through the struggling labor movement of Central America, and of Nicaragua in particular.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor came into existence out of the needs of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. It is a western organization, wishing well to the peoples of all countries, but formed particularly

**A SERVICE FOR
PAN-AMERICANISM**

to serve the peoples of the two Americas and to bind them together in mutual effort for mutual advancement.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor is about to hold its international convention. This convention will come to order on December 4 in Mexico City. There will be laid before that convention a record of achievement not equalled by any other international organization of labor. There have been and there are other international organizations. Without exception every other organization of international character has had a more or less pretentious program. Some have had all-inclusive philosophies for the rebuilding of the whole world. All have had their deeply philosophical side. None has done so much in the way of concrete achievement, so much in really binding together the affiliated organizations, so much in the improvement of international relations, so much in the making of definite gains for its affiliated movements.

The case of Nicaragua is but one of several. The Nicaraguan Federation of Labor appealed for help and a mission was forthwith dispatched. Accompanied by Mr. Salamon de la Selva, who journeyed to Washington bearing the appeal from Nicaragua, Mr. Hartwell L. Brunson, of the International Association of Machinists went to Nicaragua as the representative of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Upon his return he made a concise report, containing a recommendation asking for the friendly intercession of the American Federation of Labor. His report, because of its information and because of its interest, is here published in full:

Pursuant to the understanding reached at the conference held in your office at noon on May 6th, arrangements were completed with Mr. Salamon de la Selva and I sailed in company with him on June 5th for Nicaragua. Stops were made on the way to Nicaragua at Port au Prince, Haiti, Panama, C. Z., and Puntarenas, Costa Rica, arriving at Corinto, Nicaragua, on June 26th. The stops at Port au Prince and Puntarenas were of very short duration and therefore no opportunity was afforded to make any definite contacts or investigations. At Port au Prince we did, however, have the opportunity to exchange greetings with M. Pierre Hudicourt and Mlle. Elvire Bayard.

Panama

In Panama City, where eight days were spent awaiting a boat for Nicaragua, several very interesting conferences were held and two well attended meetings were addressed; one of carpenters and the other of the Panamanian Federation of Labor. Many questions were asked in the latter meeting concerning the situation in the Canal Zone with respect to the employment of Panamanians in the operation of the Canal. This situation with which I am sure you are familiar, is not easy of solution and is one with which the Pan-American Federation of Labor can not properly deal. No legitimate complaint can be levied at any government for employing its citizens, in preference to citizens of other countries, on its public works.

Nicaragua

Arriving at Corinto, June 26th, we were advised that the President was sending his private car down to the port for the convenience of the Mexican Minister, who arrived on the same boat and ourselves. Therefore, on the following day, June 27th, accompanied by a reception committee of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor we proceeded on the President's car to Leon, the largest city. Large groups of workers greeted us at every stop enroute. These groups were all eager for information. At Chenandega an unusually interesting lot were gathered and varied questions and

expressions were offered. Arriving at Leon about 5.00 p. m., a gathering of one thousand or more greeted us and accompanied us afoot to the hotel some twelve blocks or more away. At the hotel open-air addresses were made by both Mr. Selva and the undersigned. In the evening a formal reception was tendered us at the Workers' Club.

On Saturday morning, June 28th, we proceeded on the President's car to Managua, the capital. There again we were met at the station by an immense crowd of workers and other citizens, and accompanied by them to the Hotel Central, where informal reception was held and group discussions indulged in. On Sunday morning, June 29th, the President received us at the Palace or White House. Exchange of greetings and an explanation of the purposes of the mission followed. The President, with his cabinet present, expressed great satisfaction and assured that he would do all in his power to aid in the accomplishment of these purposes. He expressed a conviction that the reforms and development which the country needs and must have, depends upon the common people—the workers—and upon the extent to which they can be organized economically. On Monday evening, June 30th, I attended a session of the Camara de Diputados—the lower house, where a proposed revision of the election law was under consideration. This proposed legislation, so necessary to a fair and full exercise of the ballot by the common people, and fully concurred in by the State Department of the United States government was rejected by a vote of 21 to 20. In other words, 21 of the deputies were against the people and for the special interests who are responsible in no uncertain degree for the present unsatisfactory conditions in the country. It is my understanding that the Senate is more completely opposed to the particular reform—having 15 for the special interests as against 9 for the people.

Without the passage of this or similar legislation or constitutional amendment the vote this fall can not be representative of the people. This point will be dealt with at more length later in the report.

On Tuesday evening, July 1st, there was a gathering of the workers and other citizens at the theatre. President Martinez attended. The undersigned and others made addresses which were enthusiastically received.

During the remainder of the week many conferences were held with the various groups of Managua and some representatives who came from nearby towns and villages.

On Saturday, July 5, another conference was held with President Martinez, at which time he suggested that an early return of the undersigned to the United States would be of great advantage to the workers movement in Nicaragua in the way of informing the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor on conditions, the remedies of which would be prejudicially affected by delay. I decided to take the next boat, sailing July 8th.

On Sunday, July 6th, I visited Granada in company with Mr. Selva and one member of the committee of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor, Tranguilino Saenz. We were met at the railroad station by the largest and most enthusiastic gathering of the trip. As the train stopped the first of 21 shots were fired. After the salute we proceeded afoot to the center of the city some 18 blocks and gathered in the theatre. More than 2,000 persons packed the house. Addresses of welcome were responded to and the mission explained as at other points. Granada is the stronghold of the opposition to labor and the reforms for which labor stands, the home of the family of dictators who have held the reins of governments for the past 15 years. Both in numbers and attitude the workers of Granada demonstrated in this meeting that they are conscious of the chief causes of their present difficulties, and clearly indicate what would happen if there were to be a free election.

We left Granada early Monday, July 7th, stopping at Chinandega about 2 p. m. for the afternoon and evening. Here quite a large crowd met us at the railroad station and escorted us to our hotel, informal reception was there held and in the evening a meeting of one thousand or more was held in the theatre. In this city there exists two very distinct groups of labor, organized on materially different lines and principles

but they were united on the occasion of our visit as far as its purposes are concerned.

Early on Tuesday, July 8th, we proceeded by train to Corinto and embarked the same day for return trip. Arriving in Panama, Saturday morning, July 12th, we passed through the canal and left Cristobal at midnight, Sunday, July 13th, arriving in Cuba Thursday noon, July 17th.

Situation in Cuba

Our contacts in Cuba were limited to representatives of the printing industry in Havana, which is the dominating factor in the groups of communes. These organizations are bitterly opposed to the plan of the American Federation of Labor and the policy of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. They were invited to send delegates to the next meeting of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Mexico City, next December, but expressed doubt that any such action would be taken by their organizations. It was learned from these individuals that the railroad unions have federated and that such Federation contemplates sending representatives to the Pan-American Federation of Labor convention.

We left Havana, Friday afternoon, July 18th, and arrived at Baltimore, Tuesday morning, July 22nd.

Summary of Situation in Nicaragua

The "societies" of labor in Nicaragua number upward of 20 independent organizations. They range in purposes all the way from purely "aid societies" to craft union, but even the latter partaking somewhat of the former.

All of the organizations have more or less distinct partisan political views. There is little or no united political action among these organizations; nor is there any united or cooperative economic action. United political action, is of vastly more importance to the workers of Nicaragua than is purely economic action, for their troubles are largely distressing economic conditions brought about by dishonest government in the hands of self-serving officials who work hand in hand with Wall Street.

The only hope of redeeming the country for the people therefore is through a united strong labor movement capable of wielding its strength in undivided political and economic action. This is the first step—solidify the various groups into a federation—The Federacion Obrera Nicaraguense.

Of equal importance, in both time and character, is the law governing the right and opportunity to vote. The present election law was drafted by a representative sent down there by the United States Department of State. It provides for registration of all voters during the month of March in election years. It provides that the registration books shall be open from 8 a. m. to 4 p. m. *every Sunday* during that month in *every* Canton (precinct). It is alleged upon reliable information that the law was not carried out in approximately 186 cantones, or that the people of these localities had no opportunity to register and hence no opportunity to vote.

This matter was put up to a special session of Congress in the form of a bill to remedy the situation which amounts to a disfranchisement of a considerable portion of the people. The United States State Department is in accord with the legislation proposed and Charge de Affairs, Mr. Thurston, so advised the Nicaraguan government when the bill was under consideration by Congress. Notwithstanding the Congress refused to enact the bill.

Unless these at present disfranchised people are permitted to vote in the coming election there is danger of a continuation or return to power of class rule, nationally, and continued social and economic unrest, which may at any time develop into violent resentment. With the opportunity available to all of the people to vote there is every reason to believe that an administration will be elected which would be acceptable to the great majority of the people and peaceful social order assured in Nicaragua.

A fair election in Nicaragua is the issue of the hour with the workers there. It means all to the labor movement of the country. It should be the purpose of the A. F. of L.

and the Pan-American Federation of Labor to use all legitimate and proper means to make such possible.

It is, therefore, my recommendation that the State Department be made acquainted officially with the facts as they have been obtained from the common people—the disfranchised workers, for they in the main are the ones who will not be able to vote under the present situation, and that every assistance be rendered the workers of Nicaragua in their struggle for economic and political freedom.

Nicaragua's troubles, like so many others, result partly from the alliance of corrupt and reactionary local politicians with the financial forces of Wall Street. Wall Street, of itself, could not throttle any Latin-American country. Wall Street, finding unprincipled politicians ready to sell their country's wealth for a song, takes what comes to hand and makes the best of an usurious bargain.

It must be remembered, too, that the Latin-American politician has much wealth to give, or to mortgage. And all too generally he has at least a tradition that the graft goes with the office. The wage earner pays the penalty in a manner that would be impossible in an industrial country like the United States.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor is taking to the wage earners of the American republic the message of trade union organization. It is breaking them away from personal allegiance to a general, or a politician or the owner of a hacienda. It is showing them how to improve their conditions by giving allegiance to principles. It is seeking to help them to remove political obstacles, such as exist in Nicaragua. It is pointing no rainbow road to Utopia, but it is helping all American wage earners to dig their way out of oppression. It is a proud privilege for the American Federation of Labor to belong to such an organization and to help in such a task.

Agricultural department experts have made a study which leads them to the

**FARMERS' GUIDE
POST—
ORGANIZATION**

conclusion that American agriculture has not paid interest on invested capital since 1920.

It would be interesting to know what is included under the head of invested capital. Invested capital might mean inflated land values, or it might mean pre-inflation land values. In the absence of clear knowledge on that point not much can be said about the worth of the report.

There are two points, however, upon which judgment may be passed, regardless of the statistics gathered by the government.

If farming is to be classed as a business "which must meet the usual charges of business, such as charges for depreciation and for overhead, then farming can not escape the processes that are necessary in managing business.

Small business is being put to the test by big business. Business that runs itself inefficiently is being put to the test by efficient business. Machinery is making human power more efficient.

Farming is being subjected to the same readjusting influences. The individual farmer is handicapped without money. Sometimes he forgets that he is running a business and remembers that he is a hardworking indi-

vidual having great difficulty in making ends meet. The "dirt" farmer of today has one fundamental agency from which he may expect constructive aid. He must look to organization. Associated effort will help solve problems of finance, production, marketing, as well as supply information for plans for the future. He may see a beautiful mirage, but the picture will recede as he advances to grasp its promised benefits.

Where the individual tiller of the soil is concerned, he is exactly in the category of the wage earner. He uses tools and works to create articles of value. If, on the one hand, he has to sell his own product, he has, on the other hand, to be sure that he gets enough out of the fruits of his toil to provide him with his requirements. Many individual farmers do not, as the report states, get interest on their investment. Before a farmer begins to talk interest on investment it is then time for him to consider whether that interest can be properly earned with obsolete methods and equipment and whether he can not through associated effort have machinery and use methods that will produce and market crops so that there may be not only a payment of that interest but as large a production volume as possible at the lowest production costs.

The whole point at issue is that the farmer can not automatically get relief. Legislation may give him artificial and temporary relief, but the only method through which permanent relief and progress can be assured is through organization, and that means bona fide organization, not organization of bank farmers, or political farmers, or fertilizer farmers, but organization for farmers, by farmers.

International loans constitute one of the important factors in Pan-American relations and it is not impossible that they may become a
AVOID SPURIOUS
DOLLAR
DIPLOMACY a vital factor in relations between America and Europe.
 It is natural that banking interests should seek to impress upon American diplomacy the banking point of view. When Albert Strauss, of J. & W. Seligman & Co., New York City, addressed the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass., recently, he set forth the Wall Street point of view with admirable candor and clearness. Bankers want the American Government to act as a collection agency for foreign loans.

Mr. Strauss held to the view that the American Government ought to make itself responsible and use its physical power for the collection of foreign loans to American governments.

The first thing a banker looks to, in making a loan, is the security. That ought to apply in the making of a foreign loan, as well as in the making of a domestic loan. And in the making of a foreign loan the United States navy should not be regarded as having any relation to the security.

J. & W. Seligman & Co. has money on loan in Nicaragua. The American Government had marines in Nicaragua for many months. That was perfectly satisfactory to J. & W. Seligman & Co., but it was not so satisfactory to the people of Nicaragua who, like most other Latin American borrowers from Wall Street, have had to pay and will have to pay a rate of interest based on

crooked domestic politics and the risk which bankers run in loaning to crooked politicians.

The rate of interest on loans is governed by the demand for loan money and by the safety of the security. If interest rates are based on the risk of crooked politicians, then it must be assumed that the bankers understand the nature of their business and are charging for the risk assumed. In simple fairness, bankers can not then step in and ask the United States Government to enforce collection of such loans. Nicaragua does not afford the only example of the Wall Street loan policy in dealing with Latin American nations.

The American people will never knowingly consent to the use of the force of their Government to help Wall Street collect the kind of loans which it makes in Latin America or in any other section of the world and it will particularly resent having that force used to collect loans made in collusion with crooked local politicians where both parties understand the nature of the deal and know the risks involved.

It is true that much American money has gone into Latin America at great risks which have had nothing to do with political adventurers, and that some money has been invested by those who have had every desire to be fair. But the other kind of loans also have been made and this other kind applies to Nicaragua, and it is this kind that usually produces the greatest demand for punitive action when collection proves difficult.

Dr. Leo S. Rowe, director of the Pan-American Union, made a proposal at Williamstown which has no more merit than the Wall Street suggestion of Mr. Strauss. Dr. Rowe suggested that all loans to Latin America be supervised or approved by the American State Department. He would have such loans subject to Government control and in conformity with standards designed to prevent irritation and misunderstandings between American governments. The intent is excellent, but the proposal holds more of evil prospect than of good. If no other danger lurked, there would be the grave danger of an American control over Latin American governments by virtue of an American control of credit and this is something that will be rejected as extremely undesirable by all who desire good relations with Latin America.

Many Latin American nations have suffered at the hands of their own political adventurers. There are peculiar reasons for the political adventurer in the nations to the south—reasons which grow out of the environment of the people, the characteristics and the traditions of the people, the lack of universal education and the undeveloped character of the countries, physically.

But Latin America is moving forward. There is a growing appreciation of education, a growing industrialization and a growing understanding of the benefits of the practice of democratic methods in government. The United States and the American people must consider the Latin America of tomorrow, as well as the Latin America of today, and they must, above all, consider the demands of justice, human freedom and fair dealing.

The American foreign policy regarding Latin America or any other division of the world must be a people's diplomacy and not a bankers' diplomacy.

Heading West

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

Politicians are taking a tip from the title of this department. They are heading west, looking for the votes of the far countree.

It is well that they do, for in the west there are votes to be had—for those that can get them. It is well that they do, also for the reason that they may learn something about the diminishing effectiveness of hokum. The law of diminishing returns is working inexorably.

However, the gleaners must betake themselves to where there are gleanings, leaving the amount of the gleanings to be determined by such fates as govern such things.

The days pass and roll into weeks; and the weeks pass into months. November will come, with its fateful hour. And some of the politicians who are so hopefully heading west may then just as well keep right on until they immerse themselves in the soothing waters of the glorious old Pacific!

* * *

Here's Hoping That Both Are Correct

THE Democrats point out, with many figures, that the Republicans are going to come under the wire in third place in November.

The Republicans point out, with many figures, that the Democrats are going to come under the wire in third place in November.

Since our motto is, "a plague on both your houses," we jolly well wish that both old parties could be right about the result.

Obviously, however, the Republicans and Democrats can not both run third. There has to be a second.

If both parties will now set their statisticians to work to figure out which of them is going to run second they will greatly oblige a waiting multitude.

For the present, we may hope that both are right in their predictions that the opposing party will in any event not come in a winner.

* * *

We Can't Help Talking About the Dawes!

AN' there's Charley Dawes, as good a publicity hound as ever hung a jimmy pipe upside down. Lord, how he hates page 1! There's only one man who hates preferred position more than does the said Charles, and that's Brother Charles's brother William Jennings.

But when it comes to collecting votes, it is to be feared that the Dawes will have to more than hit the front page. And some-

thing more to the point than smoking a pipe topside down.

There was that little jaunt down to Florida to tell Mr. Daugherty this campaign ought to be run on a union-smashing basis.

There is the good old story about the Lorimer bank and the fiscal relations of the Dawes bank to the Lorimer palace of ruin.

There are the Minute Men, ready any minute to uphold everything in the constitution except the right of wage earners to organize.

There is the support of the Republican Dawes for a Democratic injunction judge just a few months ago.

There is the Republican platform.

There is—But after the Republican platform there isn't much. The last disreputable splinters were used in knocking together that wornout old contraption and there was nothing left but shavings.

We shall hear more from, of and about Dawes before the election arrives. It isn't so much that he's an issue as it is that he's an incident.

* * *

America Told the World Something New

WHEN the American state department under Woodrow Wilson told Old Man Huerta in Mexico that no regime founded on violence could get recognition in Washington it handed down a new idea in diplomacy. That was one of the biggest forward steps in diplomacy that the world has seen in a hundred years.

By and large, the United States is still sticking to that policy. That is one of the stumbling blocks the soviets can't get around and can't get over.

Of course since that doctrine was laid down we have had the Haiti expedition and we have had the marines in Nicaragua. The "liberals" have tried to paint both of those cases in black terms. While it might be wished that we had not been involved in either case, the situations were by no means one-sided and American conduct by no means all reprehensible. Blanket condemnation usually indicates the propaganda mind—the mind that is out to make a case, be the facts what they may. There are some persons so sorely afflicted with the propaganda mind that they can't speak a good word for any American institution or agency.

The kind of American who has that kind of a mind is to be pitied. He has a hard life. But, more important, he is to be guarded against. His dope is not to be taken as the basis for intelligent opinion. It really is possible for an American to be honestly proud of many American institutions and of many American achievements. Strange as this may seem, it is the happy truth.

* * *

American Diplomacy Is Not Always Greedy

WHY is it considered such good form for "liberals" to jump all over the American state department and such an unthinkable breach of good form to speak well of it?

The only answer that suggests itself is that they have a complex furioso, or some other equally terrible ailment.

Here comes the Rev. Samuel Guy Inman with a long wail about American Imperialism in Colombia. Uncle Sam has Colombia by the neck and is wringing said neck with a steady and fearsome pressure. Uncle Sam's financial dictator in Colombia is telling that country what it may and may not do, even to the extent of telling it what is to be done with the \$25,000,000 paid to Colombia by the United States under the recently ratified treaty.

The Colombian minister comes to the defense of the United States and tells the Rev. Guy where he is wrong. The American financial experts now in Colombia were hired by Colombia and are paid by that country—and, says the minister, they are giving satisfaction.

American diplomacy may not always look good. It has not always been good. It has been very bad at times. But it is not uniformly bad and it generally is not intentionally bad. Moreover, it is about the best brand of diplomacy in the world today, not excepting the diplomacy of Ramsay MacDonald. In fact, by comparison with the diplomacy of Ramsay MacDonald, the United States comes off with flying colors.

Ramsay MacDonald has yet to tell the world why he deals with the despotic, murderous soviets and refuses to recognize the democratic, pro-labor government of Mexico. And it will take Ramsay a long while to explain away that little contradiction.

In calling upon all affiliated and recognized national and international and brotherhood organizations, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, local unions, labor's friends and sympathizers, to give united, unrestricted, loyal and active support to the non-partisan campaign now set in motion, we emphasize the imperative need of an intensive educational campaign to enable all to act with discrimination and wisdom in this election, and to stand faithfully by our friends and elect them and to oppose our enemies and to defeat them.

We can not fail to observe that both Republican and Democratic parties through manipulated control are in a condition of moral bankruptcy which constitutes a menace and a peril to our country and its institutions. Machine politicians have brought upon our country moral obliquity and unashamed betrayal. We are judging on the basis of the condition which exists and this judgment will be reversed only when the conditions upon which it is based are changed.

WAR FINANCES IN THE NETHERLANDS UP TO 1918, by M. J. Van Der Flier. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch.

One of the series of monographs on the economic and social history of the world war prepared by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Covers the influences and effects of war conditions on the well-to-do, the middle class, and laborers, and predicts greater equalization of living conditions through taxing the rich and extended social legislation.

CHILDREN IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS. Bureau of the Census. Washington, Government Printing Office.

An arsenal of statistics with respect to the volume of child labor in the United States at the time when the fourteenth census was taken (1920). The Federal census child labor statistics are the only child labor statistics that cover the entire United States. The present report is incomplete to the extent that children under ten years are employed, census enumerators having neglected to make returns for such workers. The figures are limited mainly to child workers between 10 and 15 years of age, of which there are 1,060,858.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER COMMISSION OF THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

By the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission. Toronto, Clarkson W. Gaines, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

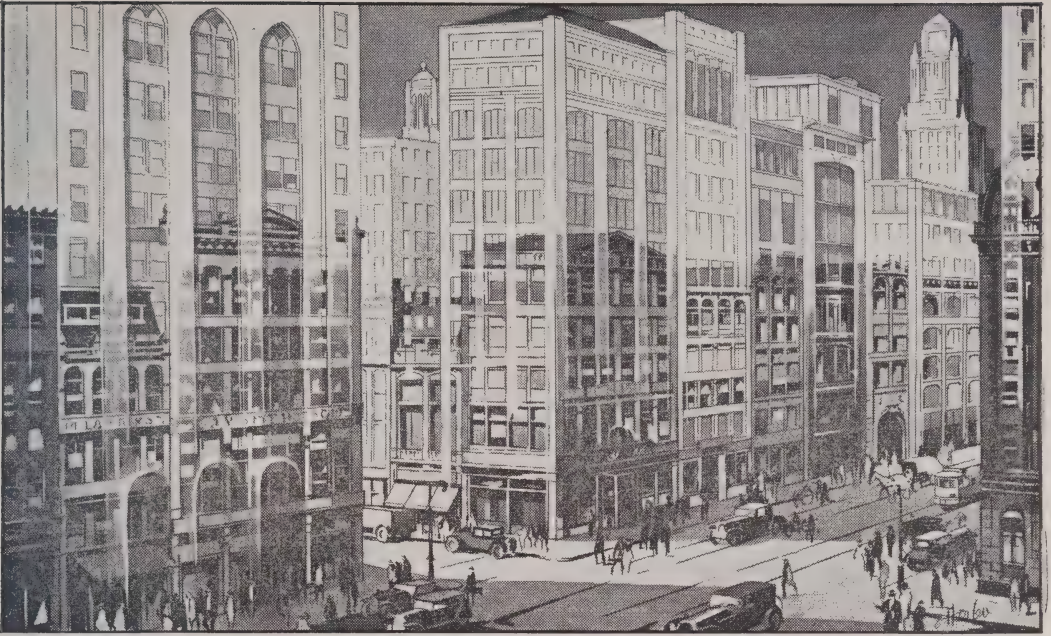
An official account, fully illustrated, of the operations of the various electric light and power systems owned or controlled by the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission.

THE CANADA YEAR BOOK, 1922-23. By the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, F. A. Ackland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Canada Year Book is the official statistical annual of the resources, history, institutions and social and economic conditions of the Dominion of Canada. It is compiled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics under the supervision of R. H. Coats, Dominion Statistician. The chapter on "Labour, Wages and Prices" is replete with information on labor conditions, labor legislation, and the trade union movement.

Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress or other offices; whether executive, legislative or judicial.

Discontent is the want of self-reliance; it is infirmity of will.—*Emerson.*



To-morrow's Telephones

So vital a factor has the telephone become in American life that the demand for it would undoubtedly grow even without increases in population. New businesses are founded; others expand. New homes are established in town and city, in suburban dwellings and apartment houses.

To meet the needs of America, to-day and to-morrow, with the best and cheapest telephone service, is the responsibility of the Bell System. The telephone will grow with the population and prosperity of the country, and the plans of to-day must anticipate the growth of to-morrow.

The service which is given to-day was anticipated and provision was made for it, long in advance. Money

was provided, new developments were undertaken, construction work was carried through on a large scale. The Bell System, that is, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and Associated Companies, has continuously met these requirements. It has enlisted the genius of technical development and the savings of investors for investment in plant construction.

Over 315,000 men and women are owners of the American Company's stock and over half a million are investors in the securities of the System. With a sound financial structure, a management which is reflected in a high quality of telephone service, the Bell System is enabled to serve the increasing requirements of the American public.



**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES**

BELL SYSTEM

One Policy, One System, Universal Service

WHAT OUR ORGANIZERS ARE DOING

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC

FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America

Charles F. Hohmann.—We have 220 local unions, with a total membership of 24,620 and a total increase of members of 266 during the month. For deaths there has been an expenditure of \$1,925. There has been 415 sick claims amounting to \$8,622.67.

Order of Sleeping Car Conductors

W. O. Murphy.—We have 39 local unions with a total membership of 2,300. There has been three deaths with an expenditure of \$3,000. The state of employment is fair but not improving.

Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union

A. D. Yoder.—We have 251 local unions and a total membership of 8,000. We had an increase of 5 new locals during the past month. Namely, Durham, North Carolina; Erie, Pennsylvania; Waterloo, Iowa; Harrisburgh, Illinois; Iowa City, Iowa. Nine deaths have occurred and an expenditure of \$1,150 therefor.

Laundry Workers' International Union

Harry L. Morrison.—We have 72 local unions with a total membership of 5,500. We have 38 new members and a decrease of 23 members. The state of employment is fair but not improving. No agreements were signed during the month of August. Will soon begin a campaign to organize the non-union laundries of Oakland, California.

FROM DISTRICT, STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZERS

ARIZONA

Lowell.—Phil J. Donahue:
No additional workers are being hired in any lines here. Active work is being carried on to increase the demand for the union label and favorable results are being secured.

ARKANSAS

El Dorado.—W. C. Franklin:
Additional laborers have been employed on road work. The chief industries here are building and oil and refining. The latter are not organized. The railroad companies still try to force the shop craft into their "company unions." Agitation for the increased demand for union labels is constantly carried on here.

Jenny Line.—N. M. Henson:

Coal mining is the chief industry here. Mine No. 18 has just opened up for the first time since February, hiring 75 additional miners.

Little Rock.—Matt Lewis:

Railroads in this state have laid off workers. Railroad, lumber and cotton mills are the chief industries here. The working people have all endorsed President Gompers' stand toward La Follette. Union label goods are always in demand by union men. Merchants are planning to keep union-made goods in stock.

CALIFORNIA

Marysville.—C. E. Rynearson:

Employment is slacking up here. About 200 workers of the Colgate Division of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company have been laid off. The meat cutters and grocery clerks have been organized since April 1st. A committee has been appointed from the Central Labor Council to call upon all organizations and ask that they demand the union label when making purchases.

COLORADO

Denver.—Earl R. Hoage:

Plasterers' Union, No. 32, signed a two-year agreement at \$12 per day. Tile layers secured an increase of 50 cents per day. All printing offices have reduced their working forces. There are plenty of men in Colorado to care for all jobs open. City contracts are taking up all surplus common labor. Coal mining, packing and farming are the chief industries here. About one-half of all industries have union agreements. City employees were successful in having an ordinance adopted at a special election increasing wages \$1 per day, making the new rate pay \$5 per day for 8 hours. This will mean an increase of about \$300,000 per year for all city employees, most of whom are members of the city employees' union. This new rate of pay applies to all contracts for the city or county of Denver. We are booming all union labels and are holding a big label exhibition at Lakeside Park on Labor Day.

CONNECTICUT

Norwich.—William H. Donahue:

Conditions remain about the same here. The textile industry is very quiet, especially the cotton mills. The building trades are fair and the cigar trade very quiet. A meeting was held August 12th for the purpose of reorganizing the Central Labor Union. Out of 14 locals, 13 were represented. The outlook is very favorable to organizing a 100 per cent central body in Norwich.

ILLINOIS

Eldorado.—John A. Cooley:

Restaurants and soft drink stands have increased their employees' wages \$3 per week, but hours and conditions remain the same as they

Lead

*—in your telephone**

IN the manufacture of telephones, switchboards and telephone cable, Western Electric looks to the mines of Missouri for millions of pounds of lead each year.

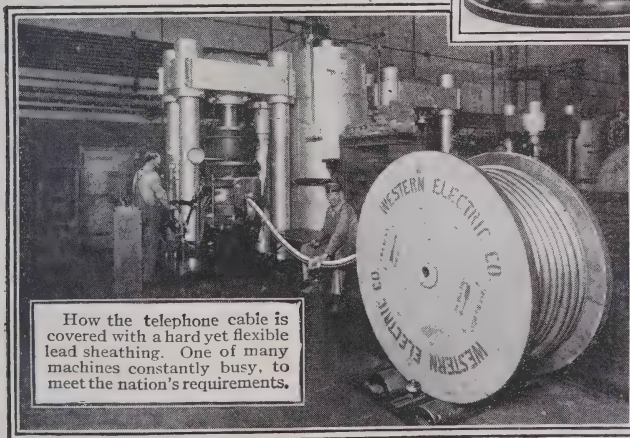
These great shipments, in combination with other metals, are put to a variety of uses—ranging from the little dabs of solder on the terminals of cords inside your telephone to the heavy protective covering on the miles of telephone cable over which you talk.

In these and other ways lead plays an important part in telephone service. How to handle this heavy material, how to apply quicker and better and more economical methods in moulding and pressing it, is a knowledge which Western Electric has acquired through fifty-five years' experience.

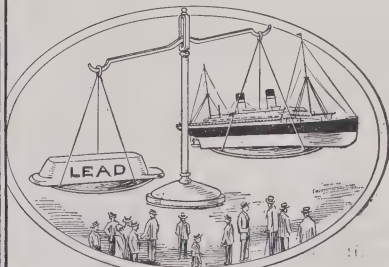
*No. 9 of a series on raw materials.



From the lead mine to a spool of solder. In this form lead assures permanent electrical connections between many of the small parts of your telephone.



How the telephone cable is covered with a hard yet flexible lead sheathing. One of many machines constantly busy, to meet the nation's requirements.



The amount of lead used in a year by Western Electric is greater than the displacement of a giant steamship like the White Star liner Homeric.

Western Electric

SINCE 1869 MAKERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT

INSIST on WAN-ETA Chocolate Bars and WAN-ETA Cocoa.
Made Under the Most Sanitary Conditions.

MASSACHUSETTS CHOCOLATE COMPANY
BOSTON, MASS.

were before organizing. A number of retail clerks have been laid off. Some new street paving is being done. Retail Merchant's Association and Coal Operators Association are "company unions" in effect here.

Lincoln.—R. E. Dickson:

Greenhouses here have laid off unorganized workers. The coal mines are working fair. Some street paving is being carried on. Miners and pottery workers here have union agreements. The Label Department of the Trades Council is constantly agitating for the use of union label goods.

Litchfield.—Henry D. Felix:

The Litchfield Foundry and Machine Company have rehired some men who were laid off. No new work here of any kind has opened up. The American Radiator Company is working about one-half time, but has not laid off any men. There is a constant demand here for union label goods.

Taylorville.—Ivor C. McLain:

Conditions remain the same here. The chief industries are mining, manufacturing of paper, silk and tablets. All industries have union agreements. All union members are instructed to ask for union label goods when making purchases and stores are asked to stock union-made goods. During the past month the meat cutters have organized. An attempt is being made to organize the creamery workers. The mines have been working fairly well here and the prospects for the future look promising for this industry. A bitter fight is being waged against the retail clerks' union by the clothing merchants; however, they are holding their own and the miners are talking of putting a one per cent assessment on their entire organization in this district to help the fight along. There are 3,000 miners in this district and the effect would be very stimulating to this cause. The Bell Telephone Company had to humble their aristocratic pride and sign a union agreement with the telephone operators here a few months ago.

INDIANA

Elkhart.—I. O. Stephic:

Nearly all the plants in this city have laid off workers and are working short hours. About 2,000 in all have been laid off. Railroad shops have taken on again a few of their employees and work in the Elcar Motor Company is picking up. The Foster Machine Company is shut down entirely. New work is opening up continuously in all building trades. The railroad shops have "company" unions, but union men are making war on them and cleaning them out. An extensive drive is being carried on to increase the demand for the union label and more union-made goods are being sold

in this city. The writer is attempting to organize the retail clerks, chauffeurs, plasterers and common laborers, and also the bookbinders.

Elkhart.—G. C. McLaughlin:

Laborers have been laid off from work on new theater building which is nearing completion. The New York Central repair shops have taken back 120 men who were laid off in the spring. No plants are closed down here but all are running short time. The New York Central shops work under union agreement. They also have a "crafts' association." Other factories have welfare societies which are not worth anything. Great Labor Day celebration took place in Elkhart. Biggest celebration ever held in northern Indiana was staged and 10,000 people attended. Constant agitation is carried on to increase the demand for the union label and label literature is being distributed.

Muncie.—Max E. Mathews:

The chief industries here are glass, automobile and bridge and boiler shops. Work in all automobile plants is very slack. The Muncie Products Company is putting men through a physical examination before letting them return to work. We have a store here which handles all union label goods through the efforts of the Women's Label League.

South Bend.—Harry Lewis:

The Studebaker Automobile Company is now employing 6,000 people, but conditions are bad. Workers in every department have had a cut in wages. The Lee Mercantile Company has a union agreement, but the majority of industries are unorganized. The label committee of the Central Labor Union and the Women's Label League are doing all they can to promote the use of union label goods and results are steadily improving. An organization campaign will follow the State Federation of Labor convention.

IOWA

Des Moines.—W. B. Hammil:

The building industry has gained a little here over the July record, but there is no noticeable improvement in other lines of work. No plants have closed completely down, but some are working part time. Considerable country road work is being carried on. Label committee in the Central Body are agitating for the increased demand of union label goods.

Muscatine.—J. U. Rehmel:

From 40 to 50 workers have been laid off from the sash and door factories. Eight blocks of new pavement are being constructed. Constant agitation is being carried on for the union label.

Newton.—F. Parker:
Conditions remain the same here. Work in the building trades is good. Personal interest is taken to increase the demand for union label goods.

KANSAS

Arkansas City.—Ed. E. Rock:
The railroad shops have reduced their forces in all departments. Conditions are much the same here—no plants having closed down, a few additional workers being hired. The railroad “company union,” the “Maintenance of Ways” has reorganized here with a membership of 80 to 100 new members. The railroads have laid off shopmen and put some mechanics back on helpers pay, also cutting working time to 5 days per week and wages 10 cents per hour on labor men.

KENTUCKY

Central City.—Otto W. Anderson:
The Illinois Central railroad has been laying off men all this summer, but there is a prospect of some of them being rehired now. The miners have been on strike since April 15. The state corporation is almost closed down having laid off from 200 to 300 men. Nearly 10,000 coal miners are out in West Kentucky. The Illinois Central has hired 300 to 400 track men, 100 electricians and driver men. The majority of the mines in west Kentucky are closed down. No new work has opened up. Employees on the Illinois Central and the L. & N. railroads have union agreements. All union men are agitating for the increased demand of union label goods.

Somerset.—E. H. Ashley:
About 25 per cent of the workers in the building trades have been laid off. The hoisery mills have put on about 30 extra employees. Some new state roads are being built.

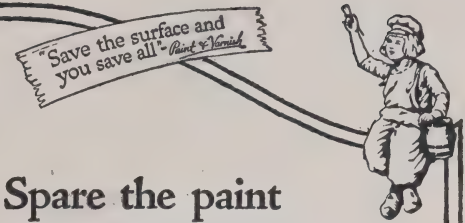
MASSACHUSETTS

Plymouth.—Charles H. Smith:
Approximately all the mills here have laid off workers. Some plants have closed down for two weeks. The erection of new residences is about the only work being carried on in the building trades. More stores are carrying a greater variety of label goods here than before.

Quincy.—James F. Edwards:
There have been improvements in conditions in the plants of shoe manufacturers and the building trades. Building houses for rent has become a profitable industry. The Fuller Rivet Company has laid off from 200 to 300 employees. One hundred or more workers have been hired by the scale factory. The Edison Power and Light Company has just started operations. Some plants are working only three days per week. The Fall River Ship Company is run on an “open shop” basis. A constant demand is being made that all purchases bear the union label.

A Correction

In August through error the following statement appeared, “From 50 to 100 stonecutters and quarry workers have been laid off and some plants have



Spare the paint and you spoil the house

Keep your home in good condition with Dutch Boy white-lead. Mixed with pure linseed oil, it forms a long-lasting protection against sun, rain, and snow.

This standard paint ingredient used by skilled painters everywhere is the most economical by the square foot, by the year, and by the job. It is easy to apply, brushes out smoothly, and does not chip or scale.

NATIONAL LEAD COMPANY

New York, 111 Broadway; Boston, 131 State St.; Buffalo, 116 Oak St.; Chicago, 900 West 18th St.; Cincinnati, 650 Freeman Ave.; Cleveland, 820 West Superior Ave.; St. Louis, 722 Chestnut St.; San Francisco, 485 California St.; Pittsburgh, National Lead & Oil Co. of Pa., 316 Fourth Ave.; Philadelphia, John T. Lewis & Bros. Co., 437 Chestnut St.

closed down.” The latter part of this statement “some plants have closed down does not apply to stonecutters’ plants, but to shoe cutters’ plants.

MINNESOTA

Robbindale.—Albert Brown:
The railroads have employed a few additional workers, and some telephone and electric line construction is being installed. The textile industry has laid off a few workers. Railroad workers have a “company” union but it is slowly losing out. The Label League is doing very good work to increase the demand for union label goods. No new locals have been organized, but membership has increased in the present unions.

St. Paul.—Frank Fisher:
Thousands of men in all trades are out of work. No new work has opened up and there are no prospects of any.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque.—Neal Culley:
Workers in the building trades are only working half time. Approximately 250 workers on the Santa Fe railroad have been laid off, and the shops are working only part time. The Madrill coal mine, a 42-mile mine has just opened up. The street car company has a “company” union. There is no labor paper in this state, although a Mexican paper is being undertaken. Considerable agitation is carried on in behalf of union label goods. The

THE babies of today make the men of tomorrow.
And the food of these first years make the babies.

Which is why the Nestlé's Food Company feels such an important duty to all mankind.

Nestlé's Milk Food brings to babies the same nourishment which they would get at mother's breast. It is used by more physicians and mothers than any other baby food in the world. All conscientious druggists carry it.

The "Mother Book" will be sent free. A friendly encyclopaedia on baby feeding and baby care.

Write Nestlé's Food Co., 130 Williams Street, New York.

Nestlé's Milk Food

state federation was organized during the past month. The butcher workers have held two meetings which have been unsuccessful. Big plans are being made for a Labor Day celebration.

NEW YORK

Dunkirk.—Charles Costantino:

All industries have laid off workers. A new \$500,000 school building is being built, furnishing work for the building trades. A "La Follette for President" Club is being organized here through the efforts of Brother James Sauce.

Rochester.—W. W. Campbell:

With the exception of the building trades all industry is dull here. All establishments have laid off workers, and some are beginning to rehire some of their workers. No plants have closed down permanently. The Central body and the union label league are agitating for union label goods.

NORTH CAROLINA

Wilmington.—George W. Cameron:

Two cotton mills here are working only half time with a cut in wages. About 300 workers have been laid off but they are unorganized. The Atlantic Coast Line railroad which is non-union has employed additional workers. No plants have completely closed down, but are all working part time. Two new oil stations and new cotton compresses have given employment to additional men. The Atlantic Coast Line railroad clerks, and shop-

men have a "company union." Members of the Trades Council, Printing Trades Council and Labor Record are constantly agitating for the use of union label goods. The results of this work is determined by checking up the amount of union label goods handled by merchants. The Wilmington Trades Council has been reorganized and expect to form a retail clerks' association in January, 1925. We have 18 local unions here aside from the railroad unions.

NORTH DAKOTA

Painting.—H. E. McFall:

The Armour creameries, and the G. N. railway have laid off workers. Road construction and farm work are the only new openings in employment. Railroad companies here have "company" unions. The wheat harvest is just starting. From \$2 to \$3 wages is being offered with very few harvest hands applying at that wage.

OHIO

Elyria.—Charles H. Kopp:

The General Phonograph Company has laid off 140 workers, and workers have also been laid off from the Elyria Iron and Steel Company and the Colson Company. New work has opened up in the Western Automatic plant and they are now working five days instead of four. A committee is carrying on a 30-day campaign in behalf of union labels. The Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers have applied for a charter for a local union.

Findlay.—John F. Bunce:

Three plants have laid off workers here affecting from 25 to 75 people. A slight business depression exists here. A constant demand is being made for union label goods.

Hamilton.—Stanley Ogg:

The majority of the metal trade shops have laid off workers, several hundred altogether. The majority of the building trades have union agreements here, as have also the foundries, polishers and stove mounters. Continued agitation through the Central Body is carried on to increase the demand for union label goods. The writer has organized Local No. 158 of the retail grocery clerks. Considerable trouble is being had with the Kroger Grocery and Baking Company, but President John B. Shulte of the international union is in the city helping us to combat this trouble.

Youngstown.—Ernest Brocmile:

The steel mills have shown improvements during the past month in wages, hours and conditions of work. The sheet departments of the steel mills have union agreements. The Youngstown Sheet and Tube has a "company" union. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods and literature on this subject is being distributed. The writer is trying to organize the taxi drivers and also the roofers.

OKLAHOMA

Hartshorne.—E. C. Robertson:

The McAlester Callry Coal Company at Gown has hired about 40 additional miners. One coal mine at Gown has closed down. Constant agitation is being carried on here to increase the demand for union label goods. Work is very scarce in this city and there is a surplus of coal miners here unemployed at the present time.

Pawhuska.—Wallace Stewart:

The oil fields have laid off numbers of men, but as they are non-union there is no estimate of the number. General work in the building trades is the chief occupation here and most of the trades are organized.

PENNSYLVANIA

Altoona.—I. M. Crossman:

The Pennsylvania railroad shops are only working four days a week. Considerable street paving is furnishing common labor with work. Educational talks to delegates of the Central Labor Union are given to increase the demand for union label goods and reports of the firms handling label goods are given.

Ephrata.—H. M. Good:

Cigarmakers report better working conditions since the organization drive has been on. All cigar factories in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, have hired additional workers. There has been no closing of plants or laying off of workers here. A death beneficial organization exists here among the workers which was created by their employers. Five cigarmakers' unions have committees distributing label advertisements and booming label drive of A. F. of L. Cigarmakers' Local Union, No. 340, of Reamstown, Pennsylvania, has been organized during the last month.



Save ~~20¢~~ **Green Stamps** and you **Save Money!** Thousands of home makers will tell you this is true.

The Sperry & Hutchinson Co.

New York City

Pittsburgh.—J. R. Abbott:

All large concerns here have reduced their forces by laying off help. The chief industries here are steel, coal and oil products. Not many of them have union agreements. "Company unions" have been undertaken in the teaming and trucking industries but with very little success.

PORTO RICO

Yanco.—Max Mattei Rivera:

The chief industries here are growing coffee, sugar cane, tobacco, and the making of fine embroidery. A great campaign is under way here for the purpose of organizing the working men. Details will be furnished later.

RHODE ISLAND

Woonsocket.—Martin V. Cass:

Most plants here are working only half time. The United States Rubber Company has started operations again on full time. The American Wringer Company after being shut down for two months, has also opened up with a 10 per cent cut in force. Every plant in the city has laid off from one-half to one-fourth of their workers. A large plant for the yarn spinning industry is being built. The barbers, carpenters, plumbers, painters and bricklayers all have union agreements here. The U. S. Rubber Company has a "company union."

SOUTH DAKOTA

Aberdeen.—A. J. Demmus:

The C. M. and St. P. railroad shops have hired ten additional men in each shop. This is strictly a railroad town, and the workers have union agreements. With the exception of the harvest fields, work is very slack.

Huron.—E. L. Gordon:

Conditions have improved during the past month in wages, hours and conditions of work both in the building trades and railroad crafts. Practically all railroad workers are back on their jobs. A number of new buildings are being erected and work is progressing on the new highway. The establishment of committees in all unions is being urged to promote the demand for union label goods.

TENNESSEE

Jackson.—W. L. Diefie:

Conditions are poor here. The railroad shops

have closed down laying off about 175 men. Two plants have closed completely. New work is being constructed in the building trades. The Piggly-Wiggly Manufacturing Company has a union agreement. Customers in general are demanding union label goods here. The sheet metal workers are in process of organization.

TEXAS

Orange.—E. L. Spaugh:

The carpenters are now receiving \$1 an hour. New work in the building trades is continuously opening up. A label committee has been selected to agitate for union label goods.

San Antonio.—C. F. Russi:

Conditions here are much the same. Erection of four new buildings has started in the last 20 days. Soft drink plants here are 100 per cent organized. Four and one-half millions of bonds have been sold here and work is expected to start at once on the following: retention dam above city \$2,500,000; auditorium \$800,000, and street paving and street widening and bridge building. The public are demanding union label goods when making purchases. During the past month the auto mechanics have become organized.

VERMONT

Montpelier.—Charles H. Reagan:

The Union Granite sheds have signed an agreement for three years from April 1, 1925. The use of union label goods is urged at all meetings.

WASHINGTON

Roslyn.—S. R. Justham:

The coal mines at Ronald, Washington, have laid off about 350 miners. One mine here is completely closed down. The Central Labor Council is making a strong appeal to all its affiliated members to increase the demand for the union label.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston.—C. C. Bradley:

Fifty per cent of the building trades are idle here at the present time. Three new factories will open about September first; one will open with 125 employes for the making of ladies' garments.

Wheeling.—L. M. Greer:

Union men here have been fighting the "open shop" for the past three years. Work here is very slack. The majority of plants have laid off workers. All of the steel plants have "company" unions. Women have a label league which, although small, carries on agitation for union label goods. Two or three temporary injunctions have been issued here.

WYOMING

Sanders.—William McMahon:

The Home Stake Gold Mine Company have started development and have put on 16 new workers. The U. S. R. S. are putting on 200 additional men. We have a flourishing "La Follette for President" Club. A big two-day program for Labor Day at Hudson was planned. Constant agitation is carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

WORKERS,

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE

American Federationist

AND SECURE OTHER SUBSCRIBERS

It is Your Magazine

IT DEFENDS YOUR INTERESTS AND ADVOCATES YOUR CAUSE AGAINST
THAT OF ANY OTHER BODY ON EARTH.

A Liberal Commission on
all Subscriptions sent in.

Write for Terms.
Why don't You Become an Agent?

The American Federationist

Is on Sale on Every News Stand.

If you fail to see it on your News Stand

ASK THE REASON WHY.



THE man who uses an Underwood Portable soon discovers that though he may dread to write, he likes to *typewrite*. It is a real pleasure to see the words appear on paper almost as fast as you think them. Typewriting on the Underwood Portable is just a flowing, effortless, almost automatic recording of your thoughts in sharp, clear legible form.

Price, \$50 in the U. S. A.

Weight, uncased, 6¾ lbs.; in traveling case, 9¾ lbs

The Portable is obtainable at Underwood offices in all principal cities, or direct by mail.

Underwood Typewriter Co., Inc.
Underwood Building, N. Y.



**UNDERWOOD
PORTABLE**

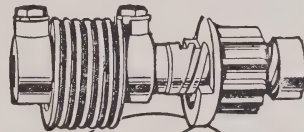
The Nemolastik Girdle Reduces Safely and Daintily



Made of pure gum rubber covered on both sides with dainty silk. It reduces fat safely — no rubber touches the skin. Made with a closed back in a delightful shade of peach and priced at \$10.75.

In Corset Shops and Department Stores

Nemo The House of
Complete Corsetry
Nemo Corsets — Smart Set Corsets — Circlets — Netheralls
NEW YORK



The
**BENDIX
DRIVE**

*'The Mechanical Hand
That Cranks Your Car'*

MADE BY THE

Eclipse Machine Co.
ELMIRA, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

American Federation of Labor

A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

American Federationist

Monthly Magazine of the A. F. of L. 10 cents a copy; \$1.00 a year

A. F. of L. Weekly NewsletterOfficial Proceedings of the A. F. of L. Conventions
25 cents a copy**Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor**

Per copy, 5c; 100, \$3.00.

Industrial Unionism in Its Relation to Trade Unionism

By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

National Association of Manufacturers Exposed; Revelations of Senate Lobby Investigation

By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

Initiative, Referendum and Recall

By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

The American Labor Movement; Its Makeup, Achievements and Aspirations

By SAMUEL GOMPERS. 5 cents per copy; 100, \$3.00

Trade Unions To Be Smashed Again

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Socialist Methods Versus Trade Union Methods

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Labor and Its Attitude Toward Trusts

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Essence of Labor's Contention on the Injunction Abuse

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Eight Hours—The Workers and the Eight-Hour Workday and the Shorter Workday—Its Philosophy

By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5c; 100, \$3.00.

The Eight-Hour Workday; Its Inauguration, Enforcement and Influences

By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

What Does Labor Want?

By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Organized Labor; Its Struggles, Its Enemies and Fool Friends

By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

No Compulsory Arbitration

By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Open Shop Editorials

By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Report of A. F. of L. Delegate, Budapest, Hungary, International Trades Convention, August 10-12, 1911

By JAMES DUNCAN

Report of A. F. of L. Delegate, International Federation of Trade Unions, Zurich, Switzerland, September 16-18, 1913

By G. W. PERKINS

Justice Wright's Denial of Free Speech and Free Press

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Dissenting Opinion by Mr. Chief Justice Shepard in the Contempt Case of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison vs. Buck's Stove and Range Company**History of Trade Unions**

By WM. TRANT, M. A.; with a sketch of the National and International Unions of America. By P. J. MCGUIRE. Per copy, 10 cents; dozen, 75 cents; 100, \$5.00

Philosophy of Trade Unions

By DYER D. LUM. Per copy, 10 cents; dozen, \$1.00; 100, \$9.00

The Eight-Hour Primer

The Fact, Theory, and the Argument. By GEORGE E. MCNEILL. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight-Hour Movement

By GEORGE GUNTON. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

The Philosophy of the Eight-Hour Movement

By LEMUEL DANBYD. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Has the Non-Unionist a Moral Right to Work How, When and Where He Pleases?

By FRANK K. FOSTER. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Trade Union Epigrams

Some Reasons for the Faith That is Within Us. By WALTER MACARTHUR. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

The Philosophy of the Labor Movement

By GEORGE E. MCNEILL. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen 50 cents, 100, \$4.00

What Labor Could Do

By JOHN SWINTON; with "Economic Conferences" by WILLIAM SALTER, and a letter of HON. AMOS J. CUMMINGS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100 \$4.00

The Safety of the Future Lies in Organized Labor

By HENRY D. LLOYD. (In English or German.) Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Industrial Education

Consisting of an Investigation and Report by a Competent Special Committee; Reports of Officers and Committees; Action of A. F. of L. Convention; The Attitude of Organized Labor and Others Toward the Problem; A Glossary of Definitions, etc.; Labor's Bill for Congressional Enactment. Per copy, 25 cents; dozen, \$2.00; 100, \$15.00

Universal Education

By SENATOR HENRY W. BLAIR. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Why We Unite

Per copy, 2 cents; dozen, 20 cents; 100, \$1.50

The Union Label; Its History and Aims

Prize Essays, by WALTER MACARTHUR, P. H. SHELVIN and CHAS. D. HEMMING. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$3.00

Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion

Published December, 1901, by the American Federation of Labor, being a comprehensive review of the whole question. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

An Open Letter to Ministers of the Gospel

Issued by the American Federation of Labor. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, \$4.00

Tuberculosis Movement Inaugurated and Plan Adopted by the A. F. of L. to War on Consumption**Statement and Evidence in Support of Petition and Charges Presented to the President of the United States Against the U. S. Steel Corporation by the A. F. of L.****Buck's Stove and Range Company Injunction Suit and Contempt Proceedings**

A compilation of the Reports of the Executive Council and President Gompers to the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, November 8-20, 1909, together with the Report of the Committee on President's Report, and Vice-President Mitchell's Address, etc. Per copy, 25 cents; dozen, \$2.00; 100, \$15.00

Books and other publications on Labor and Sociological subjects furnished at publishers' rates.



EMPIRE

Empire Petroleum Products

GASOLINE

NAPHTHA

KEROSENE

GAS OIL

FUEL OIL

ROAD OIL

ABSORPTION OIL

NEUTRAL OILS

RED OIL

CYLINDER STOCKS

PARAFFIN OILS

PARAFFIN WAX

Write for Prices

EMPIRE REFINERIES, Inc.

SUBSIDIARY CITIES SERVICE COMPANY

GENERAL SALES OFFICE — TULSA, OKLA.

The New "Sun" Engine!

Arrangements have been made with Wm. Doxford & Sons, Ltd., Sunderland, England, for the development, plans and patents they have covering Doxford engines. The Doxford plans and patents together with the Junker patents will be used by the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company for the manufacture of Doxford engines in America.

Motorships "Yngaren" and "Dominion" with Doxford engines are giving very finest results in durability, continuous running, and remarkable fuel economy.

SUN SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK CO.
Chester, Penna.

 New York Office

25 Broadway

Philadelphia Office

Finance Building

America's
Leading Producer
...of...

HIGHEST
CHARACTER
SOLE
LEATHER

THE UNITED STATES LEATHER CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES: 17 BATTERY PLACE

NEW YORK

SINCLAIR OILS

SINCLAIR REFINING COMPANY

CHICAGO
NEW YORK

General Office
260 S. Broad St., Philadelphia

BITUMINOUS

For Steamships and High-Efficiency Steam Requirements
EXTRA PREPARATION OVER PICKING TABLES

J. H. WEAVER & CO.
COAL

SHIPPING PIERS:
New York—Philadelphia—Baltimore

Branch Office
25 Broadway, New York

GAS

EXCELLENT QUALITY
FAIRMONT DISTRICT

THE AUSTIN COMPANY
Industrial Engineers and Builders
OFFICES ALL PRINCIPAL CITIES

Sani-Flat
Mooramel
Cement Coating
Impervo Surfacer
White Enamel Underbody

Benjamin Moore & Co.
Paints, Varnishes and Muresco

NEW YORK
CHICAGO
CLEVELAND



ST. LOUIS
CARTERET
TORONTO

Muresco
House Paint
Pure Oil Colors
Japans and Driers
Impervo Varnishes

THE J. G. WHITE ENGINEERING CORPORATION
ENGINEERS—CONSTRUCTORS

43 EXCHANGE PLACE - - NEW YORK

"It is far more economical to pay a few cents more for a good lubricant, than to accept an inferior one as a gift." Do you believe it?

KEYSTONE LUBRICATING COMPANY
Manufacturers and Lubricating Engineers

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

EST. 1884

Peabody Coal Company

CHICAGO

Founded 1883

Operating

Forty-four Mines in Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Wyoming, with annual capacity of 26,000,000 tons.

McClellan & Junkersfeld
Incorporated

Engineering and Construction

**Power Developments — Industrial Plants—Examinations—
Reports—Management**

68 Trinity Place, NEW YORK
CHICAGO PHILADELPHIA ST. LOUIS

YORK SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY

Safes and Vaults

FACTORY

YORK, PA.



THEY'RE UNION MADE

CLOWN
CIGARETTES
20 for 15¢

In a factory that has employed union labor only, throughout its 23 years' history and never had a strike.

Axton-Fisher Tobacco Co., Inc.
Louisville, Kentucky

The Quality is there, too!

ARMSTRONG STOCKS AND DIES



HINGED PIPE VISES
PIPE CUTTERS
PIPE MACHINES

STEAM AND GAS FITTERS TOOLS

MANUFACTURED BY

THE ARMSTRONG M'F'G CO.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

The Only Safe Water
is a Sterilized Water

Every drop of water used by over
80 million people in North America
is sterilized by Liquid Chlorine



WALLACE & TIERNAN

COMPANY, INCORPORATED

Manufacturers of Chlorine Control Apparatus

NEWARK

NEW JERSEY



CENTRAL AGUIRRE SUGAR COMPANY

AGUIRRE, PORTO RICO

James Stewart & Company, Inc.

Building Construction

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

WASHINGTON

CLEVELAND

ST. LOUIS

The American Federationist

Labor's Official Magazine



Edited by Samuel Gompers



The American Federationist deals each month with the important issues in American industrial life. Every worker in America should be a constant reader of the American Federationist. Every employer should be a student of this magazine. There is benefit for every true American to be found in every issue of the American Federationist.

EDITORIALS.

The vital questions affecting Labor are dealt with each month in special editorials by Samuel Gompers. Authoritative expression of Labor's viewpoint is to be found regularly in the editorial pages.

SPECIAL ARTICLES.

The best writers contribute monthly their thought on great questions. By virtue of these special articles and the editorial discussions, the American Federationist is always an up-to-date text book on industrial affairs.

YOU CAN NOT AFFORD TO MISS THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

Defender of American Labor's Interests.

Subscription, \$1 per year.

For Sale on Newsstands.

WORKERS: Write and learn how you can help increase the circulation of your own magazine. A commission is paid for new subscriptions.

The American Federationist

American Federation of Labor Building

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Quality Lubricants Since 1853

SWAN-FINCH OIL CORPORATION
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Keystone Roofing Manufacturing Company

Asphalt Roofings - Shingles - Waterproof Products
 York, Pennsylvania

PEJEPSCOT PAPER COMPANY

MANUFACTURERS OF PULP,
 PAPER AND LUMBER

PEJEPSCOT MILL
 BOWDOIN MILL
 LISBON FALLS MILL
 TOPSHAM MILL
 GREAT SALMON RIVER MILL
 MARTINS HEAD MILL
 COOKSHIRE MILL
 SAWYERVILLE MILL

OFFICES: BRUNSWICK, MAINE
 42 BROADWAY
 NEW YORK CITY

***The* FIRST NATIONAL**



Trademark

stands for the
 ultimate in
 artistic and
 entertaining
 pictures. 

UNITED STATES SMELTING
Refining and Mining Company

Executive Offices: 55 Congress Street, BOSTON
 Sales Office: - 120 Broadway, NEW YORK

BUYERS OF Gold, Silver, Lead, Lead and Zinc Con-
 centrating Ores, Matte and Furnace Products
 PRODUCERS AND SELLERS OF Gold, Silver, Copper,
 Lead, Zinc, Arsenic, Cadmium, Copper Car-
 bonate and Sodium Arsenite
 REFINERS OF Lead Bullion.

OPERATING OFFICES: Salt Lake City, Utah; Kennett,
 Cal.; Goldroad, Ariz.; Baxter Springs, Kan.;
 Eureka, Colo., and Pachuca, Mexico.

TEXAS GULF
 SULPHUR COMPANY
(Incorporated)

41 East 42d Street
 NEW YORK

PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY

Glass -- Mirrors -- Paints -- Brushes

Warehouses in All Principal Cities

Bertha Coal

Produced By:
BERTHA-CONSUMERS
COMPANY

PITTSBURGH, PA.
Ten District Offices

BYLLESBY ENGINEERING & MANAGEMENT CORPORATION



208 South La Salle Street
CHICAGO

NEW YORK
SAN DIEGO

BOSTON
TACOMA

Gasoline
Measuring
Pumps and
Storage
Tanks



Industrial
Oil Storage
and
Handling
Equipment

GILBERT & BARKER
MANUFACTURING CO.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

EPOCH MAKING IMPROVEMENTS

THE Interpole construction of electric motors now generally copied and approved by all electrical manufacturers was invented, developed and first manufactured by this company.

BALL BEARING electric motors were first developed and manufactured by this company. What other improvements in motor design during the past twenty years compare with these two achievements?

A. C. or D. C. Motors— $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1,000 H. P.

ELECTRO DYNAMIC COMPANY
BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

Sales Offices in principal cities

Hegeman-Harris Company

INCORPORATED

BUILDERS

360 Madison Ave.

New York, N. Y.

Telephone Murray Hill 5362

BUY

U. S. Treasury

Savings Certificates

Subscribe to the

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

\$1 a Year

**Wilkes-Barre Lace
Mfg. Co.**

WILKES-BARRE - PENNA.

**Air Compressors, Condensers,
Turbo Blowers, Rock Drilling
Machinery, Oil Engines,
Pneumatic Tools.**

Branch Offices and Service Stations
the World Over

Ingersoll-Rand Company

11 Broadway

New York

THE FOUNDATION COMPANY
ENGINEERING CONSTRUCTION

An Organization of experienced men, equipped with modern plant, prepared to undertake engineering construction anywhere.

120 Liberty Street City of New York
Offices in Principal Cities



KENT-COSTIKYAN

FOUNDED 1886

485 FIFTH AVENUE—SIXTH FLOOR
NEW YORK

Opposite Public Library

IMPORTERS OF ORIENTAL RUGS
SEAMLESS CARPETS IN SOLID COLORS
RUGS WOVEN TO ORDER IN ORIENT

Chas. Cooper & Co.

Manufacturing Chemists

Established 1857

Acids	Chrome Oxide
Ammonia	Copper Carbonate
Bone Ash	Ether Sulphuric
Collodion	Sulphur Flour

194 Worth Street - NEW YORK
Works: Newark, N. J.

BUY THE

History and Ready Reference

Book, Etc., of the

**AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR**

*When in
Portland, Ore.*

Make the

**Multnomah
Hotel**

Your Headquarters

***You eat when you are hungry; do
you sleep when you are tired?***

When nature tells you that you are hungry, you eat. But when you are tired, do you go to bed and sleep until rested?

Because it seems to be a waste of time, sleep is often the most neglected necessity of life. Better miss a meal any time, however, than lose sleep you need.

Even when you average eight hours in bed, you may be starved for sleep.

A worn-out spring or mattress may be robbing you. You may be so used to light, broken rest that you do not know how much energy you are sacrificing.

Study the bed you use tonight. Compare it with the Simmons springs and mattresses offered by leading furniture dealers at the *lowest prices it is safe* for you to pay. Then decide whether your sleep is as "nourishing" as it ought to be.

S I M M O N S

Mattresses · Springs · Beds

BUILT FOR SLEEP

Labor's Record Complete!

Every fact about the American labor movement, from the beginning to the present,
is ready for you in the official

History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book

GREATEST LABOR RECORD EVER PUBLISHED.

This book contains 520,000 words. It contains the complete record of Labor's official action on every issue that has arisen since the beginning of American Labor history. Every student should have it. No teacher is properly equipped without it. Every labor man and woman will find it a mine of information and a help in the handling of current questions.

Send Your Order Today.

THE PRICE: \$2 NET.

Every order will be filled promptly.

American Federation of Labor

Washington, D. C.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

Send all orders to the Secretary.



Thermoid
Hydraulic Comp.

100% Brake Lining
THERMOID RUBBER COMPANY
Trenton, N. J.

TROJAN POWDER COMPANY

Allentown, Pa. San Francisco, Cal.

Manufacturers of

HIGH EXPLOSIVES

For All Kinds of

Quarry Operations Excavating and
Mining Operations Construction Work
Land Clearing Agricultural Purposes

Magazines and Distributing points in all
important consuming localities

Mills at Seiple, Pa.; Robert, Cal.

**The Nolde and Horst
Company**

Manufacturers of Fine Hosiery

READING - - PENNSYLVANIA

BUY

**U. S. Treasury
Savings Certificates**

EVERY day that goes by sees a wider and
wider use of

**OXY-ACETYLENE
CUTTING AND WELDING
TORCHES**

in the cutting and welding of steel, wrought
iron, cast iron, brass, copper, bronze and
everything in metal.

They are valued most wherever they are
best known.

OXWELD ACETYLENE CO.
Long Island City, N. Y. Chicago San Francisco

Incorporated \$75,000.00

Telephone Connection

B. E. Grant Company

General Contractors

Trucking—Sand, Gravel and Crushed Stone

**OIL DISTRIBUTORS
BOSTON, MASS.**

LEDGE
South Huntington Avenue
Boston

STABLES
99 West Cedar Street
Boston

SAND PIT
Medfield, Mass.

USE

Breinig Brothers Pen-O-Stains and
Genuine Silex Paste Wood Fillers—

For Quality and Economy

BREINIG BROTHERS, INC.
HOBOKEN - - - NEW JERSEY

Manufacturers of
Varnishes - Enamels - Paints

**General Engineering &
Management Corporation**

165 Broadway, New York City

**Design—Construction
Management—Financing**

PUBLIC UTILITIES

FRED W. SINCLAIR

ALBERT GRIGG

Sinclair & Grigg

Builders

Medical Arts Building
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Diamond State Fibre Co.

Makers of Hard and Flexible
Vulcanized Fibre Sheets,
Rods, Tubes and Specialties.

BRIDGEPORT PENNSYLVANIA

BUY

U. S. Treasury

Savings Certificates

Turner and Blanchard

(INCORPORATED)

STEVEDORES

15 Moore St., New York City

PHONE, C. H. 850

O'Neill Company

General Contractors
and Engineers

127 East Mermaid Lane
Chestnut Hill Philadelphia

United Piece Dye Works

*Dyers, Printers and Finishers
in the Piece of*

All Silk Fabrics, Silk and Cotton Mixed
Goods, Silk and Wool, All
Cotton Goods, Etc.

LODI, N. J.

New York Office: - 132 Madison Avenue
Mills: - - - - Lodi & Hawthorne

Subscribe to the "American Federationist"

UNION SPRING & MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Coil Springs, Elliptic Springs, Steel Castings, Pressed Steel Spring Plates and Pressed Steel Journal Box Lids
KENSINGTON JOURNAL BOX—All Steel

WORKS—New Kensington, Pa.

50 Church Street, New York, N. Y.
Todd Building, Louisville, Ky.

Fisher Building, Chicago, Ill.
226 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

PITTSBURGH OFFICE—300 Granite Building

Mutual Building, Richmond, Va.
Munsey Building, Baltimore, Md.

"My Digestion is Normal"

"A complete nervous breakdown with severe attacks of heart failure—the latter caused by acute indigestion—wrecked me mentally and physically. Vaguely I realized that during my lifelong diet of de-vitalized food I had been practically digging my own grave with my knife and fork. Then I began eating Fleischmann's Yeast Cakes. That was three years ago, and I am still eating them. My digestion is normal, my brain active and clear, and all those various aches and pains of a lifetime have disappeared."

A letter from a New Jersey mechanical engineer, Mr. Frank M. Spencer.

FLEISCHMANN'S YEAST

At every grocer's

Eat 2 to 3 cakes a day.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor
CHESTER M. WRIGHT, Assistant Editor
Official Magazine of the American Federation of Labor
1924

Executive Council, A. F. of L.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.
JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Second Vice-President.
FRANK DUFFY, Third Vice-President.
WILLIAM GREEN, Fourth Vice-President.
T. A. RICKERT, Fifth Vice-President.

JACOB FISCHER, Sixth Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL, Seventh Vice-President.
MARTIN F. RYAN, Eighth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.
FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Official monthly magazine, devoted to the interests and voicing the demands of the trade union movement.
Published by **THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR** at 9th St. and Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C.
Correspondents will please address SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor, Washington, D. C.

All communications relating to finances and subscriptions should be addressed to FRANK MORRISON, Secretary,
Washington, D. C.

The publisher reserves the right to reject or revoke advertising contracts at any time.

The editor will not be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

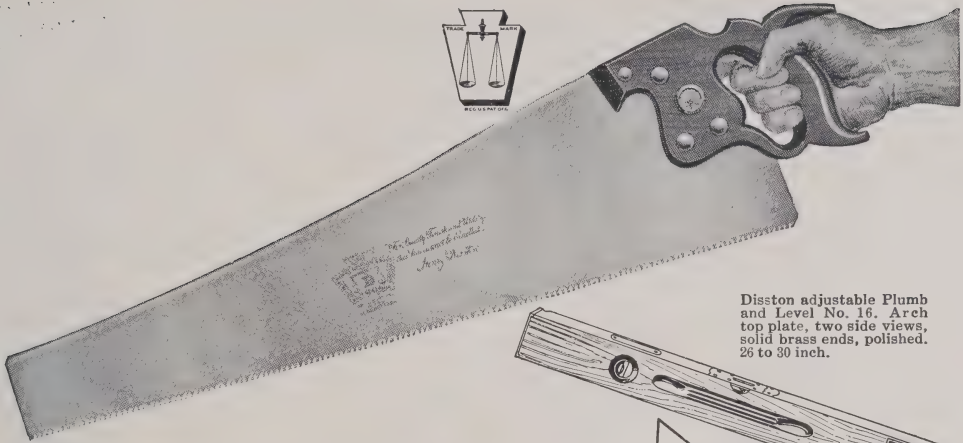
The American Federation of Labor is not sponsor for nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Entered at Washington, D. C., post office as second-class matter. Accept for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized July 11, 1918.

Contents for November

The Courts vs. Natural Rights and Freedom.....	865
By SAMUEL GOMPERS	
Edouard Heriott—The La Follette of France.....	869
By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING	
Labor's Part in Power Production.....	872
By JAMES P. NOONAN	
A Neglected Centenary.....	876
By W. A. APPLETON	
Workers' Education—Its Importance.....	878
By FANNIA M. COHN	
Visitors from Great Britain.....	880
Cartoon—Cast Your Vote.....	882
EDITORIALS:	
By SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, American Federation of Labor	
The Spirit of American Labor.....	883
Constructive Progress.....	884
Education Compels Justice.....	884
Centennial of a World Event.....	885
Prosperity vs. Unemployment.....	886
A Splendid Man Gone Wrong.....	889
Porto Rico's Onward March.....	894
By SANTIAGO IGLESIAS	
Heading West.....	909
By CHESTER M. WRIGHT	
What Our Organizers Are Doing.....	911





The Disston Saw was made for you

THE carpenter was the only customer that Henry Disston thought of when he began making saws in 1840.

Carpenters then used imported saws, but Disston gave them, in the Disston Hand Saws:

- hang and balance they had never known in any tool;
- temper that gave spring and life;
- clearance that made work easier;
- a cutting edge that held.

Disston gave the carpenters the saw that made their work easier, that helped them to do more work, better work, in less time.

And the news spread! Soon the Disston Saw became "The Saw Most Carpenters Use."

Use Disston Tools as well as Disston Saws.

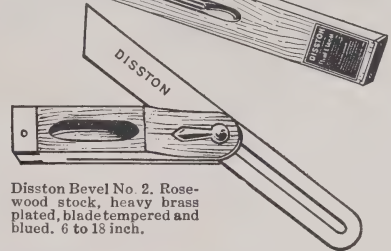
For they are made for real mechanics—the kind who know what a difference a good tool makes. They are made—every one—to the standard set by Disston.

Ask your hardware man for Disston plumbs and levels, try squares, mitre squares, gauges and bevels.

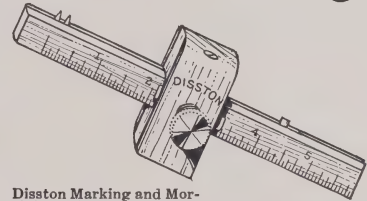
Henry Disston & Sons, Inc.

Makers of "The Saw Most Carpenters Use"
Philadelphia, U. S. A.

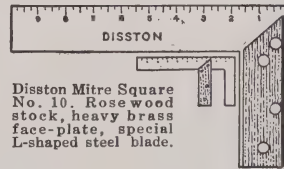
Disston adjustable Plumb and Level No. 16. Arch top plate, two side views, solid brass ends, polished. 26 to 30 inch.



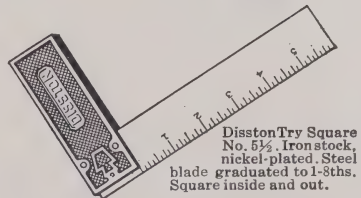
Disston Bevel No. 2. Rosewood stock, heavy brass plated, blade tempered and blued. 6 to 18 inch.



Disston Marking and Mortising Gauge No. 89 1/4. Boxwood, polished; graduated stem, brass slide and thumb-screw.



Disston Mitre Square No. 10. Rosewood stock, heavy brass face-plate, special L-shaped steel blade.



Disston Try Square No. 5 1/4. Iron stock, nickel-plated. Steel blade graduated to 1-8ths. Square inside and out.

Hardware dealers the world around sell Disston Saws, Tools and Files

DISSTON

Protect your future by investing NOW

NOW, in your earning years, save your spare dollars. Invest them in sound securities of established public utilities and let them keep earning for you. Enjoy extra comforts in coming years.

Over 2,000,000 people own utility securities. Over 100,000 have purchased through our organization. We specialize in the safe income-earning shares of electric light and power, gas and transportation companies, yielding 7% and better. You can own financial interest in this essential public service industry and draw quarterly dividends on your savings. You can buy for cash or on payments of \$10 down and \$10 monthly per share.



For latest list of investment opportunities call, phone or write



UTILITY SECURITIES COMPANY

72 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Telephone Randolph 6262

Louisville, Ky.



Your Boy



There is energy in Nature to provide for *all* mankind. A large part of the work of the General Electric Company has been in manufacturing the giant electrical machine; that harness streams which once were idle but now furnish electricity for power, light and heat.

He will have more leisure than you had. And yet, with the aid of electricity, he will do more than you did.

Radio, the electric locomotive and the electric ship will have shortened his distances. Electric motors will have taken upon their shoulders life's burdensome tasks.

A different world it's going to be — and a better one!

GENERAL ELECTRIC

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

PRODUCERS
REFINERS
DISTRIBUTORS
and MARKETERS

of

PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

featuring

PAN-AM GASOLINE
LUBRICATING OILS
FUEL OILS and GREASES

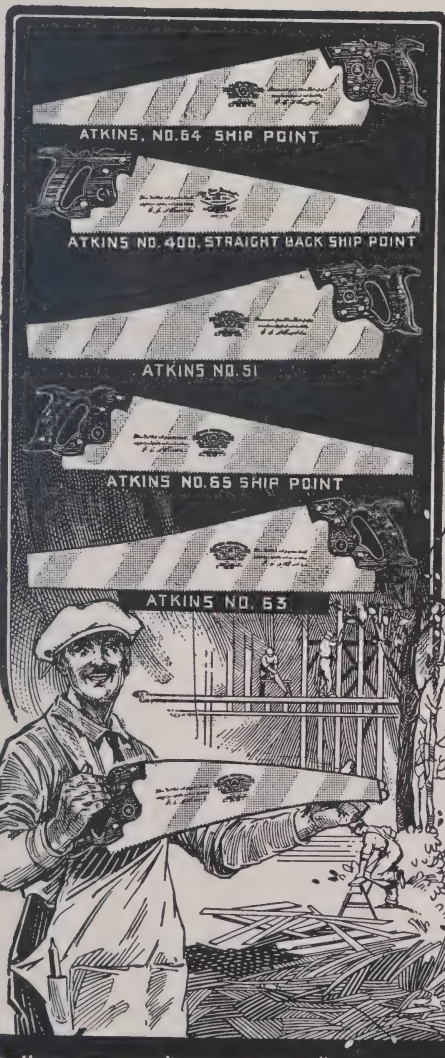
*since our organization handles
its products through every stage
of manufacture—from the well
to the consumer—users of its
various products are assured
of uniformly high quality and
continuous supply*

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

ATKINS

SILVER STEEL SAWS



Cut Faster and Easier— Last Longer

When you use an Atkins Silver Steel Saw, you will find a three fold saving. They save time, energy and money, because they are made of the finest saw steel in the world. That's why Atkins Saws take a keener edge, cut faster, run easier, stay sharp longer and need less filing than any other make of saw.

Write us for descriptive literature telling all about our famous Hand, Rip and Panel Saws with the two way taper grinding and the improved Perfection handle—the handle that eliminates wrist strain.

Enclose 35c for high quality nail apron and ask for Saw Sense and souvenir carpenter's pencil.

If you can not buy Atkins Saws from your hardware dealer, ask us to give you the name of a dealer who can supply you.

E. C. ATKINS & CO.

Established 1857 THE SILVER STEEL SAW PEOPLE
Home Office and Factory, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Canadian Factory, Hamilton, Ontario
Machine Knife Factory, Lancaster, N.Y.

Branches Carrying Complete Stock In The
Following Cities:

Atlanta
Memphis
Chicago
Minneapolis

New Orleans
New York City
Portland, Ore.
San Francisco

Seattle
Paris, France
Sidney, N. S. W.
Vancouver, B. C.



The Genius of Labor

As Exemplified by the ROOSEVELT DAM On the Apache Trail in Arizona

LABOR, by its planning, managerial and manual contributions to the completed project, gave to the world one of the greatest proofs of its creative genius when it built the ROOSEVELT DAM, in Arizona.

The Dam is a thing of beauty as well as a marvel of utility. It impounds the waters of Tonto Creek and the Salt River in a lake thirty miles long and four miles wide. These life-giving waters have transformed an irrigable area of 600 square miles of desert into a region of fruitful fields and orchards that challenges the primacy of the Valley of the Nile in prolificacy.

Delegates and others attending the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at El Paso in November are urged to take advantage of the nearness of the convention city to this monumental achievement of the crafts and include it in the sights to be seen en route to or from the convention via the—

Sunset Route 

Pullman sleeping cars are operated direct to Globe and Phoenix, where close connections are made with mountain touring automobiles for the 120-mile side trip over the APACHE TRAIL.

This scenic automobile trip through the colorful Arizona mountains is a glorious added feature in itself; but its interest to Labor men is immeasurably enhanced by the relation of its most spectacular incidental attraction, the ROOSEVELT DAM, to the creative idea in Labor.

{For information and literature, address

Southern Pacific Lines

New York
165 Broadway

New Orleans
Pan-American Bank Bldg.

Houston
Southern Pacific Bldg.

Tucson
Score Bldg.

San Francisco
Southern Pacific Bldg.

Gum Chewing Aids the Teeth

You have the authority of doctors and dentists for this statement. Your own experience will prove it, if you will use WRIGLEY'S after every meal.



"Dentists have found that the exercise of gum chewing brings about a better nutrition of the teeth"

"The cleansing action of the gum between the teeth helps to keep them free from the particles which lodge in the crevices and cause decay."

WRIGLEY'S

after every meal

for the teeth's sake. Also it will aid digestion and furnish welcome refreshment to mouth and throat.

Sealed in its purity package, bringing all its original goodness and flavor to you.

*Get your Wrigley
benefit today!*



E17

The Flavor Lasts

AN EXTRA MEASURE OF SERVICE



COURTESY

A MUCH ABUSED WORD—courtesy—often confused with politeness which is descriptive of superficial conduct. Courtesy comes from within. It bespeaks a fine regard for the feelings and rights of others and is better expressed in deeds than in words.

Courtesy is not a thing to boast of. It should usually pass without mention. But in this case mention is justified because courtesy is an ingredient—an inseparable component of the *extra measure of service* normal to this institution.

The **CONTINENTAL and
COMMERCIAL
BANKS**
CHICAGO

RESOURCES MORE THAN 500 MILLIONS

Greetings From the NEW YORK EVENING GRAPHIC



THE publication of a newspaper is a grave responsibility.

The minds of men are molded by their environments—by their mental activities. A newspaper that has a serious purpose back of it will naturally influence the thoughts of its readers for good or evil.

And we feel this responsibility that we have assumed to the very last degree.

We are making this newspaper instructive, upbuilding, inspiring.

We want to be recognized as one of the people—the common people if you like.

The common people are the salt of the earth. They are the great rank and file that make up this nation.

They are good, bad and indifferent.

And we are one of them, or several of them, for our editorial staff consists of sixty editors and writers.

But we just want to be recognized as one of the folks. Many editors are placed on a pedestal. They talk as from a far distance. You can not get anywhere near them. They are often vague, indistinct in their utterances.

Many might think that such editors confer with God occasionally before the wisdom they pour forth is presented.

Now, we are not of that class. We are just nice plain folks. Whether we are from Main Street, the Bowery, or Hoboken does not make a great deal of difference. We are one of the people, and we expect, because of this, to feel with the people.

We know what it is to suffer. We know what it means to struggle day after day to make ends meet. We have tasted the joys and have been scourged with the sorrows that come to the readers of this newspaper.

It is because we have been through all this experience that we feel that we are a part of the common people. We can, therefore, recognize your problems. We can help you in a practical manner to solve them. This paper will be devoted largely to self-help.

We intend to interest you mightily. We intend to dramatize and sensationalize the news and some stories that are not new.

We want this newspaper to be human, first, last, and all the time. We want it to throb with those life forces that fill life with joyous delight.

We want to show our readers how to live 100 per cent.

Bernard Macfadden



A phonograph to play your favorite music for you always

The music of the air at the turn of a lever

A Great Advancement In Radio

The BRUNSWICK RADIOLA

Combining the world-famous Brunswick Phonograph with the superlative achievements in radio, the Radiola Super-Heterodyne and Regenoflex—an entirely NEW conception of the musical possibilities of radio.

Here is the newest and most remarkable of all musical instruments.

An instrument proclaimed by world's musical and educational authorities the outstanding musical achievement of the day.

Whatever may be your conception of the musical possibilities of radio, or of complete and permanent home entertainment, you are urged to hear it.

A scientific creation—not a makeshift.

Hence, permanent.

The Brunswick Radiola occupies immeasurably a unique position in the world of musical art.

Not a makeshift, simply a radio receiver set in a phonograph, but a perfected, tested and proved combination. An instrument you can buy with positive and absolute assurance of lasting satisfaction throughout the years to come.

See now at Brunswick Dealers so as to be sure of delivery.

Advance models are now on display at your local Brunswick dealer's.

To be sure of getting one of these instruments, choose now.

Special demonstrations, day and night, at the "Sign of Musical Prestige"—your Brunswick dealer.

THE BRUNSWICK-BALKE-COLLENDER CO.

Manufacturers—Established 1845

The Sign of Musical Prestige
Brunswick
 PHONOGRAPHS • RECORDS • RADIOLAS

A Good Reputation

FOR more than half a century the best petroleum products have carried the "Standard" name and trade mark.

Today they are better than ever before.

"Standard" Gasoline in the fuel tank and "Standard" Polarine Oil in the crank case make a working combination that calls upon your car for its very best performance.

Look for the red pump with the Standard Oil Company (N. J.) globe. Every drop of "Standard" Gasoline is carefully prepared to deliver instantaneous power behind the piston.

STANDARD OIL COMPANY
(New Jersey)

Are You True To Yourself?

Study that question. Read it again. It's important to YOU! You believe in unions and union principles, don't you? And you work under union conditions—earn your wages as a unionist and help boost the cause.

DO YOU know that the UNION LABEL is one of the biggest things with unions? Just think what the label means! It is an indication that the goods bearing it have been made under conditions for which YOU stand. It shows that the makers of those goods are paying the union scale, and often more. It is an endorsement of YOUR union principles and benefits YOU.

Remember success for one helps for success of ALL unions! Co-operate with your brother workers in the clothing industry by demanding the union label on all your clothing, shirts, collars and cuffs.

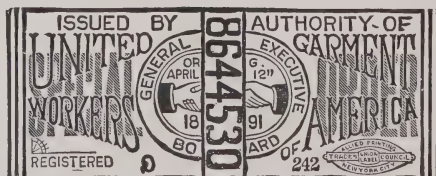
EVERY time you buy goods with the label, you strike a blow at unfair manufacturers, sweat-shops and prison workhouses. You help wipe out the products made by NON-UNION people—people who are working against YOU.

Think, talk, and push union labeled products. You owe it to yourself—for your own benefit! Make the union label as important as the price of an article. Get the habit and give it to your fellow-workers. Uplift the good cause and you uplift the welfare of yourself and your family.

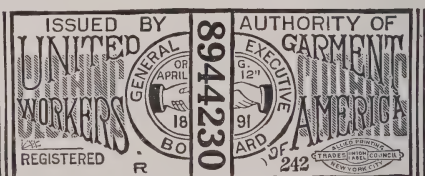
WATCH OUT FOR THESE UNION LABELS:



The above label is stamped on
Collars and Cuffs



The above label is placed on clothing
made to your order



The above label is placed on Ready-to-Wear
clothing, shirts, overalls and other
workingmen's clothing

UNITED GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

117 Bible House

New York

You Cut Along a Printed Line Not a Wobbly Paper Edge—



McCALL PRINTED PATTERNS

THE outline of all McCall Printed Patterns is an accurate printed line which *cannot* vary! This cutting line is protected by a margin (a patented McCall feature) which falls away as you cut through your material. Patterns whose outline is a flimsy paper edge cannot have this absolute accuracy.

You will be more successful in your dressmaking when you use a McCall Printed Pattern.

CLEAN UP WITH LAVA SOAP



THE MECHANIC'S FRIEND

DIRT CAN'T COPE WITH LAVA SOAP

Protect Your Health

Drink

Budweiser

Always fully aged and mellow—
not green or unfinished. A quality
product from the House of

ANHEUSER-BUSCH

St. Louis



*Also Manufacturers of A-B Ginger Ale,
Grape Bouquet, Bevo and Malt Nutrine*



Hotel Continental

"Centre of New York's Activities"

**Broadway at Forty-first St.
NEW YORK CITY**

Five Minutes from the Pennsylvania and
Grand Central Terminals; Within Easy
Access of the Retail Shopping Dis-
trict and Surrounded by
Forty Theatres

300 OUTSIDE ROOMS

Each With Private Bath

RATES:

Single: \$2.50 \$3.00 \$3.50 \$4.00

Double: \$4.50 \$5.00 \$6.00 \$7.00

COMFORT OF OUR GUESTS
Our First Consideration

Fun Everywhere with a

Radiola

(REG. U. S. PAT. OFFICE)



This symbol of
quality is your
protection.

Fun—music—news—educa-
tion—all on the air. Listen
in with a Radiola. There are
Radiolas of many sizes—each
noted for power, long dis-
tance, and dependability—for
quality and simplicity. Be
sure to look for the **Radiola**
name on the receiving set
you buy.

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

SALES OFFICES: DEPT. 164

233 Broadway New York, N. Y.

10 So. La Salle Street

Chicago, Ill.

433 California Street

San Francisco, Cal.

*MAJESTIC,
World's Largest
Ship*



SPEND CHRISTMAS IN EUROPE

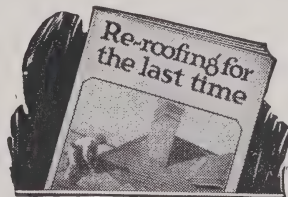
Convenient, comfortable and inexpensive trans-
atlantic service offered by our fleet of Cabin Steamers
and the Second and Third Cabins of our express
liners. Sailings from New York, Boston and Phila-
delphia to all principal European ports.

Rates as low as \$90.00.

For complete information regarding rates and
sailing dates, etc., apply to

WHITE STAR LINE
AMERICAN LINE / RED STAR LINE
INTERNATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE COMPANY

No. 1 Broadway, New York, the company's offices
elsewhere or authorized agents.



This book—one penny

Mail a penny post-card at once to Johns-
Manville, Inc., 292 Madison Avenue at
Forty-first Street, New York City, for this
booklet—"Re-roofing for the last time."

Even if you are not ready to re-roof
now, this book will give you some dollar-
saving information on the subject. And
if you are forced to re-roof now, don't
decide on the method or material until you
have read this booklet. It may save you
money.



JOHNS-MANVILLE, Inc.

292 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.

Branches in 62 Large Cities

DWIGHT P. ROBINSON & COMPANY
INCORPORATED
ENGINEERS AND CONSTRUCTORS
NEW YORK

CHICAGO

PHILADELPHIA

YOUNGSTOWN

LOS ANGELES

ATLANTA

MONTREAL

RIO DE JANEIRO

THE ATLANTIC REFINING CO.
Petroleum Products

**Made in America by American Labor
 and known all over the world.**



Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

Brunswick



INTEGRITY GUARANTEED

THE F & D's facilities for serving Union Labor include Fidelity Bonds for Secretaries, Treasurers and other officials of National and State Federations. These bonds guarantee an honest accounting of all funds handled by officials and make sure that the affairs of the various associations will be properly conducted.

Wherever there is a Local Union there is an F & D Representative ready to supply the bonds needed for the protection of its funds. Unusually prompt service on the part of all F & D Representatives in the execution of bonds and the payment of just claims is made possible by the location of branch offices or general agencies in most of the principal cities in the country.

FIDELITY AND DEPOSIT COMPANY
OF MARYLAND

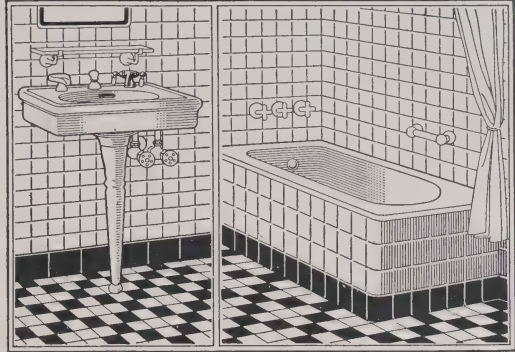
"The Bonding Company"

BALTIMORE

Fidelity and Surety Bonds and Burglary Insurance

IN remodeling old homes, modern convenience and comfort can easily be provided in every unit of their plumbing and heating systems. To replace worn-out fixtures, there are new Crane appointments of all types.

You are cordially invited to call at any of the Crane Exhibit Rooms and examine these fixtures. Or write for "Plumbing Suggestions for Home Builders," describing Crane fixtures that fit every need and pocketbook.



CRANE

GENERAL OFFICES: CRANE BUILDING, 835 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO

CRANE LIMITED: CRANE BUILDING, 386 BEAVER HALL SQUARE, MONTREAL

Branches and Sales Offices in One Hundred and Forty-seven Cities

National Exhibit Rooms: Chicago, New York, Atlantic City, San Francisco and Montreal

Works: Chicago, Bridgeport, Birmingham, Chattanooga, Trenton and Montreal

CRANE EXPORT CORPORATION: NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO, SHANGHAI, CHINA

CRANE-BENNETT, LTD., LONDON

CRANE: PARIS, NANTES, BRUSSELS

Typewriter and Office Supply Co.

Commercial Stationers

FILING DEVICES, WOOD AND STEEL;

DESKS, CHAIRS, BOOKCASES.

LOOSE LEAF BINDERS AND SUPPLIES.

SCHOOL SUPPLIES.

722 THIRTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST

-

WASHINGTON, D. C.

*They Make Good Because
They're Made Good*

MUNSING
 *Wear*

KNITTED AND WOVEN UNION SUITS



NO matter how strenuous your work may be you can depend on your Munsingwear Union Suit giving you 100 percent satisfactory service.

For Munsingwear fabrics are made of the best materials and Munsingwear workmanship is thorough to the last detail.

And in addition to its long wearing qualities, if you consider its fine appearance, perfect fit, comfort and remarkably low cost, you will readily appreciate why Munsingwear is the most satisfactory and economical underwear you can buy.

Look up your Munsingwear dealer in your community and ask for "MUNSINGWEAR"—not just "underwear."

*Varied weights and styles for
Men, Women, Children, Infants*

THE MUNSINGWEAR CORPORATION
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.



DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS OF THE
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Vol. XXXI

NOVEMBER, 1924

No. 11

The Courts vs. Natural Rights and Freedom

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

THERE has been developing in this country a government by the courts' The courts have abolished the constitution as far as the rights and interests of the working people are concerned.

The courts have interpreted the constitution to suit the reactionary interests.

The courts have set themselves up in the place of the Government. The courts have overruled Congress.

The courts have abolished the constitutional protection of individuals and of minorities.

Every reactionary candidate including both Coolidge and Davis, the reactionary Bar Association and the corporation lawyers who serve as judges, have united in defense of government by the courts.

They are attempting in a brazen and shameless manner to deceive the American people. They are making especially the impudent argument that the courts are the protectors of the constitution and of the rights of individuals and minorities.

They have the audacity and the falsity to assert that every attack on tyranny and usurpation by the courts is an attack on the constitution and on individual liberty.

Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt vs. the Courts

Thomas Jefferson pointed out that if there was any danger to our American republic it would necessarily arise under our system of government from the courts. He declared:

The germ of dissolution of our federal government is in the judiciary—the irresponsible body working like gravity, by day and by night, gaining a little today and gaining a little tomorrow and advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped.

President Lincoln was also aware that the courts are as likely to pervert

as to preserve the constitution and the individual liberties that it is supposed to protect. He said in attacking the Supreme Court in 1859:

The people of these United States are the masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.

The late Mr. Roosevelt attacked the usurpation of the courts and advocated restriction of their power, "such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policies."

Senator Pepper vs. the Courts

Among the most brazen reactionary allegations as to the progressive and labor campaign for limiting the powers of the courts, is that such limitation would destroy their prestige and independence. On the contrary so preeminent a lawyer as the Republican Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania has warned the American Bar Association that the only way to preserve the influence of the courts is to restrict them within their proper field. Senator Pepper declared:

Under such a system of government as ours, the maintenance of well-nigh universal confidence in the judiciary is pretty nearly essential to national safety. Is it not worth while to place elsewhere than upon our Federal judges the burden of solving for us our legislative and executive problems?

To maintain such confidence, must we not confine the courts to the sphere in which the creators of our constitutional system intended them to live and move and have their being?

Labor Deprived of All Rights

The toiling masses time after time have been deprived of all their constitutional rights by the usurpation of the courts. The courts have even overthrown the acts of Congress, enacted for the purpose of protecting the rights of members of labor organizations.

What can be done to working men can be done to all other individuals and minorities.

On this development of injunctions against strikers, Senator Pepper has declared:

. . . in a free country we can not by governmental action compel people to work. The second is that when a strike is on, the strikers are enough in earnest to wish their strike to be effective and that means that it becomes their interest to create conditions under which their places will not be effectively filled by others. The third fact is that while under all conditions government must protect life and property, yet if we insist upon interpreting the courts to masses of citizens as mere obstacles to industrial justice we shall not only be undermining popular respect for our most important institution, but we shall be straining government to the breaking point.

Let us make no appeal to the courts beyond the barest limits of protection to life and property, and let us never make an appeal, even in those cases, to a covert method of imposing upon the courts an impossible jurisdiction over all industrial happiness and welfare.

. . . The injunction orders have become more and more comprehensive and far-reaching in their provisions until they culminate in the Shopmen's Injunction order. Every thoughtful lawyer who has not already done so should read

that order and meditate upon its significance. In so doing he should have in mind that during the shopmen's strike in 1922 nearly every one of the two hundred and sixty-one "Class 1" railroads and a number of short-line railroads applied for injunctions in the various federal courts. No applications were denied. In all nearly three hundred were issued.

"The courts are the protectors of the rights of individuals and minorities," according to candidates Coolidge and Davis, and the corporation lawyers who control the Bar Association.

What a bold, hypocritical and violent perversion of the truth! The sole and only danger to constitutional liberty has come, is coming and will continue to come from the courts! . . . "Injunctions have restrained workmen from peacefully persuading or inducing others to do that which otherwise has been deemed lawful to do; from peacefully communicating information; from peacefully assembling; from enjoying the right of association; from the enjoyment of free locomotion; from the right to quit work and pay strike benefits; from the right of free speech and the right of free press. Any attempt on the part of the workmen enjoined from the exercise of these fundamental and constitutional rights is held to be in contempt and subject to punishment according to the judge's 'Conscience.'

There is not one single right guaranteed either by the American constitution or the common law that the courts have not abolished. When the right of trial by jury for example is set aside that is a violation of the sixth amendment to the Federal constitution which provides that:

In all criminal prosecution the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed.

The Remedy

The remedy is simple; the abolition of government by the courts.

Let the courts be restored to their normal functions as set forth by Senator Pepper. Let them be given the same position of independence and dignity that they enjoyed in England and other countries, but let them be deprived of all further power over individual liberties, and all further rights to twist and interpret legislation and constitutions to suit the purposes of the high paid corporations who argue before them.

Great Britain at the time the British Labor Party originated, namely, after the pernicious Taff Vale decision, enacted legislation which has effectively terminated all invasions of the courts in the field of industrial disputes. Briefly the British Trades Disputes Act, recommended to the attention of the reactionary lawyers of America by Senator Pepper, provides:

1. That picketing shall be legal.
2. That the acts done by labor organizations in trade disputes shall not be regarded as conspiracy, and
3. That "an act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment or that it is an interference with the trade, business, or employment of some other person or with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labor as he wills."

These and other provisions put an end to the injunction in England

without leading to any excessive violence or any other industrial grievance.

But all legislation in our country is likely to be rendered of no avail by forced interpretation of the constitution by the Supreme Court, as well as the inferior courts.

It is therefore necessary to bring the courts more under the control of Congress and of the people. Labor therefore advocates giving power to Congress to enact any measure by a two-thirds majority after it has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, this enactment then becoming final. Labor also advocates the direct election of Federal judges.

The reactionaries make the absurd claim that such legislation would deprive the courts of the desirable independence, and would also deprive them of all power to interpret the constitution. It is only necessary to consider exactly what is proposed to see that this statement is absurdly false. The president is not deprived of his veto power merely because Congress is able to pass laws over his veto by a two-thirds majority. The state judiciary is not deprived of independence merely because it is usually elected for terms of eight or ten years instead of being appointed for life. Persecuted races and national minorities in this country are asked if they feel that they have greater security and protection from nine reactionary corporation lawyers appointed for life and removed from all popular influences or from legislation which, as soon as the question of constitutionality is raised would have to be passed by two-thirds of the men the American people have elected to Congress and the United States Senate, and signed by the president.

If greater trust is placed in the nine corporation lawyers, that can mean nothing more or less than distrust in the people's own government, and belief in the rule of irresponsible individuals, and ruled by irresponsible dictators.

The American people want no Lenins and Mussolinis, and they want no dictatorship by nine irremovable corporation lawyers.

The martyred Lincoln declared that this government of ours shall be of the people, for the people, by the people and shall not perish from the face of the earth. It is for the patriotic citizenship of the Republic to decide by their votes whether this fundamental principle shall prevail or the courts destroy it.

Our course is clear. In pointing to the platform and records of the Independent candidates, we do so with the confidence that no other course can be pursued if we are to remain true to our convictions and our traditions. Those who are hostile to Labor and to the people generally and who devoted their energies to the service of reaction and special interests, must be opposed.

Service to the people is a noble cause which demands consecration and the American labor movement demands that there be that consecration in candidates to whom it gives support.

Edouard Herriot

The La Follette of France

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

EVERY day the newspapers have something to say about Europe's two "Socialist" Premiers, James Ramsay MacDonald of England and Edouard Herriot of France. But there is a difference. MacDonald is a Socialist and Herriot is not a Socialist.

Herriot is called a Socialist because the name of his party in the language of French politics is "The Socialistic Radical Party," but neither of these words is used in the English sense, and still less in the American sense. A strictly and literally accurate translation of the name of this party into the language of American politics would be "Social Progressive." Edouard Herriot is the leader of the social progressive party of France.

The Herriot government is friendly with the organized labor movement of France, and his friendship is recognized by organized labor—the only difference being as to those matters upon which the French unions take a revolutionary position. And of course he is not friendly with the communist unions. Herriot's political philosophy is in full agreement with that of the American Federation of Labor. He has developed this philosophy at length in several books, the most important of which, called "Creer," written shortly after the end of the World War. In this book Herriot refers in several places to the American Federation of Labor, as well as to American democracy, in the strongest terms of sympathy and praise.

Far from being a Socialist doctrinaire, Herriot rejects all political doctrines. He is a radical democrat, but even his democracy is not doctrinaire. He says:

We reject as archaic every formula elaborated by a group from the highest to the lowest. We serve democracy, it must be understood, not because it represents a doctrine, but because it represents a fact. We see in it the means of prolonging the magnificent national union consecrated by the war.

Herriot refers to the union of all French social groups and parties, the communists and socialists alone being excepted. Herriot continues:

But we wish to separate this regime from the abstractions and mysticisms of social theology.

The importance of this political creed for France can not be overstated. From the time of the French revolution to the present the French people have been the victims of political and social phrases. Herriot now washes his hands of this whole "social theology." He continues:

We intend to construct. Democracy means to seek an equitable distribution of wealth after having assured the power of production. To wish to distribute without first taking care of production is not democracy but demagoguery.

Herriot believes that the prime purpose of every progressive political organization should be to secure a more scientific system of production and he gives the American Federation of Labor credit for having presented this

viewpoint with "extraordinary force" in a memoir presented to President Wilson in 1919. He says that "The American worker is particularly interested in the development of the national production and regards his own future as tied up with it." In taking this position Herriot says that the American worker proves his modernism as contrasted to the workers of European countries, especially before the war. But since the war, he points out, both in Germany and France the workers have come to take the American point of view—as so often formulated, especially since the war, by the American Federation of Labor.

In a word the socialism of Herriot is on the most essential points opposed to the socialism of the European socialist parties. The future, he says, belongs to "constructive socialism as against destructive socialism." It hardly needs to be pointed out that in using the phrase "constructive socialism," Herriot is merely following the French custom of using radical expressions and means nothing more than a constructive social and democratic program.

Herriot totally repudiates the fundamental Socialist class struggle doctrine. The only classes which he does not regard with favor are the surplus middle classes, which have acted like a heavy weight on all the countries of Europe. His book is written with the idea of proposing a plan for the social reorganization of France, and he believes that this will necessitate getting rid of some of these surplus elements. He says:

We must work on a new plan; there are too many small lawyers and small grocers, too many small doctors and too many small coal dealers. We have too great a number of talkers. On the contrary, the country is short in creating (producing) elements.

In other words, Herriot's progressivism has nothing to do with the Bryan type of small-capitalist populism, but more nearly resembles the progressivism of the moderate wing of the German social democrats.

Herriot's agreement with organized labor is fundamental. Since he is in favor of the more equitable distribution of the national products that organized labor stands for—on one sole condition, a condition acceptable to American labor and, since the war, also to a large part of European labor. He says:

We have no reason to reject the solution proposed by the organized workers for a better distribution, provided their formulas are shaped to increase production.

Herriot goes farther and adopts the ultimate goal also of organized labor. Again taking over bodily the Socialist phraseology, he says:

The wage earning class will itself disappear on the day when the present regime is replaced by a more efficient system of production.

Though the Socialist language is used, as it is by all French progressives, the practical meaning is made clear, namely, that the position of economic independence in which the wage earner now finds himself will disappear under an efficient productive system, under which the employer will have no advantage whatever in wage bargaining.

The immediate importance in the world situation of having a militant

but sound progressive like this in command of a great and centrally located nation like France is evident. Herriot feels that the present moment is the very last time for revolutionary experiments, since the present low productivity of Europe "leaves no margin for such a purpose." At the same time he wants to take advantage of the dislocation caused by the war to reorganize his country and Europe, as far as practicable, on a more democratic, as well as a more modern economic basis.

Herriot has shown at London and Geneva that he is an idealist and in the best sense of the word an "internationalist"—in a sense that is somewhat similar to the internationalism of Woodrow Wilson. At the same time he has no illusions whatever that nations will soon disappear, or even that they have any tendency to be forced into a super state at the present moment. In this respect he is at the very opposite pole from the Socialists and pacifist extremists. He sees a new, stronger and more independent France as a result of the war.

For 18 years mayor of France's greatest industrial city, Lyons, Herriot does not take a political view of anything. His view of national and international affairs is thoroughly economic and the new future he sees for France is based upon the position of economic independence it will have secured as a result of the war. Henceforth, he points out, France will have a "production of iron and steel equal to that of Germany and England." Here is the basis of his international policy—at once nationalist and international—in a nutshell. Economic quality for France as one of the great economic powers, this is Herriot's dream. France is to be lifted from the position of a second-rate European power economically to one of the first powers. He does not wish his country to use this position to avoid the natural interdependence with other nations, which is the evident destiny of every European country, or certainly of every country of continental Europe. On the contrary, he is an economic internationalist and wishes the closest economic relations both with England and Germany—and the coming months will probably show that together with all far-visioned Frenchmen, he attaches even more importance to intimate economic relations with Germany than to similar relations with England. Here is ample foundation and assurance of a policy of permanent pacifism—provided Herriot and his party are kept in power.

It will be seen how close the views of Herriot are to those of organized labor and progressivism of the United States, and how far they are from the revolutionary socialism of Europe or even the semi-revolutionary socialism of the German Social-Democrats or the British Labor Party.

That is the best government which desires to make the people happy, and knows how to make them happy—*Thomas B. Macaulay.*

Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it.—*Emerson.*

It is much easier to be critical than to be correct.—*Disraeli.*

Labor's Part in Power Production

By JAMES P. NOONAN

President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America

(Paper presented at the World Power Congress, London, July, 1924.)

POWER, unlike other commodities offered for sale to the public, is not the result of a raw material refined by Labor and by given processes.

Being the product of friction of metals and chemicals, prepared and located properly by Labor, it is more the direct product of Labor than any other commodity in general use.

Electricity—today the most common and generally used agent for lighting and other household uses—has more individual uses than any other product of Labor except foodstuffs, raiment and housing. The use of electrical power in the home and on the farm is steadily and rapidly increasing, at a rate warranting the assumption that in the near future the greater volume of current manufactured will be consumed by the householder and the farmer, rather than by industrial plants. Electrical current for heating purposes, while not in general use except by the aid of detachable appliances is due to become more generally used as power production becomes better organized and more efficiently operated; making possible its production and delivery at a lower cost to the consumer, so that ultimately the private consumer will be the greatest purchaser of power. The private consumer must be therefore, the great mass of the people commonly referred to as "The Public" However nebulous the term "The Public" may be, it is generally accepted as meaning all people not otherwise specified for any particular purpose.

As the overwhelming majority of the people are workers employed by others, it is reasonable to assume that they constitute the great mass of "The Public," hence, the workers are not only the producers but also the greatest consumers of electrical current; and consequently have a two-fold interest in any movement having for its intent or purpose the advancement, regulation or control of the electrical era.

In America today we have a tremendous movement, fostered, advanced and supported by the best minds in the electrical power industry, known as the Giant Power Programme.

The Giant Power movement has for its purpose the more economical production of current, through the construction of plants of greater capacity and efficiency, near the source of fuel or water power; eliminating the cost of hauling fuel, as well as the duplication of man power and supervision now necessary in plants of lesser capacity; and in the case of fuel-burning plants, having the consumption of fuel now necessary to generate the volume of current required, take place at one plant, where it will be profitable to install the devices necessary to recover and convert into usable form the by-products of the fuel used.

Through sheer necessity this brings about the abolition of comparatively small plants now existing in the smaller cities, villages and hamlets of the country; and the linking of properties of such small companies as may now own these smaller plants, through their purchase or consolidation, or elimination by competition later.

While the public movement for a Giant Power Programme is of rather recent date, the actual physical movement to consolidate the power industry of the country has been under way for years and is very far advanced. Whole sections of the country—each section covering a number of states, and a large number of formerly independently—operated companies—are now linked or bridged for the interchange of current in the interest of capacity loading for generating stations. This, of necessity, brings about regional control of management, policy and operation—generally through a holding company. In time even these holding companies—recognizing their interdependency and the wastefulness of competition in any given territory, and their mutual interest in matters of advertising, rate-making and legislation—will merge; so that we must look forward to a condition in the power industry comparable to that now existing in the telephone industry. Every step in the evolution of the power industry or any other industry shows the need for more thorough and complete organization, and a maximum of efficiency in management.

Labor can have no quarrel with more thorough organization of industry or capital, nor does Labor oppose any plan or device calculated to be of benefit to all the people, even though such plan or device reduces the amount of labor necessary to the production of any commodity. In common with all the people, Labor receives its portion of the benefits of such plans or devices in the reduced cost of the commodity wherein the saving in cost of production has taken place; this, of course, on the assumption that the saving, less a just and reasonable profit, will be reflected in the cost to the consumer.

Organized Labor, being the only articulate portion of the great mass of workers who form the larger part of the population of the country, has a right to give voice to the rights and grievances of the workers, and to speak for them as consumers and as producers; hence, Labor's interest as consumer, in the subject of the distribution and cost of any product so generally used as is electrical current.

As producers, Labor is interested in a fair distribution of the legitimate profits accruing from a business to which they contribute their energy and mental acumen—in fact, their lives—as against the capital invested by others.

While capital interested in the power industry has been assiduously seeking means of more thorough organization and closer cooperation of the various units comprising the management of the industry, there has been shown a disposition and intent to deny to Labor the same right to organize and stabilize the industry from a Labor viewpoint.

One of the greatest factors in any industry is to stabilize labor conditions. Labor conditions must be standardized at least to the degree that policy and management are standardized, by the combining of the formerly independent units; and organization of the workers, by the workers and truly representative of the workers, is the only sound and logical method by which such standardization and cooperation may be achieved with equity, justice or permanence.

Various means have been employed by the several companies to prevent

or discourage the affiliation of their employes with labor unions of their respective crafts.

The means employed range from open hostility to organization of any character, to the organizing at the instance and expense of the employers of so-called company unions. Such organizations limit their membership to the employes of the company involved, and are generally subsidized, if not entirely financed, by the company. The inducements generally consist of life and accident insurance at low cost or no cost, as the case may be; pension systems; clubs of all characters; entertainments furnished free; and in some cases distribution of the stock of the company among the employes at less than the market price.

All of these emoluments, with the possible exception of stock ownership, ceases if and when the employe severs or has severed for him his connection with that particular employer.

This form of organization is still an experiment on the part of the employers. It must, in time, prove an expensive proposition; the cost of which must be carried by the industry, as it must be either included in the operating expense of the company, or be deducted from the earnings of the employes involved, and reimbursement must come to them in the form of increase in wage to meet the cost. In either case it is a direct charge; the cost of which must be passed on to the consumer. This form of organization is foredoomed to failure, because—

It is archaic—A return to the days and system of the feudal barons, when each baron made at will paternalistic laws; provided protection and amusement; regulated in great measure the mode of living for his retainers and serfs, and their dependents; and could at will inflict on any of them the greatest hardship, by the simple means of banishment from their retinue or employ—leaving the expelled one a pariah, without employment, protection, affiliation, or even means of livelihood; until he found another baron willing to accept his services; the only difference being that in the feudal days the barons had not learned to any extent the benefit and beauty of organization and cooperation one with the other, that obtains today with the several companies.

Because this paternalistic attitude and practice is destructive of initiative and self-dependence, and must in time prove abhorrent to the spirit of free men:

Because under this system the worker is left without affiliation with other workers in the industry, and the protection and assistance that might come to him through such affiliation; or any property right in funds or property that a group may have accumulated at any time he may be discharged by his employer or circumstances force his voluntary severance of relations with that particular employer:

Because in this, the age of organization and rapid evolution of industry, it must be conceded that the workers should have and hold the right to have a collective voice in dealing on matters affecting their interest, and must perforce affiliate themselves with co-workers in the industry employed by other than their particular employer, to meet and deal with problems

arising out of a condition where the various employers in that industry are organized;

And because stabilization of any industry can come only through thorough, effective and responsible organizations of both employers and employees.

To have one or more factors in any given industry brought to a high state of efficiency through organization and cooperative effort, and to leave the most important factor in an industry where labor and machinery make the product without raw material—the factor of Labor—without organization or with units of organization that have no actual connection or cohesion—is to plan for smooth operation of the industrial machine, while deliberately leaving the driving wheel and important primary gears out of plumb with the other parts of the machinery that go to make up the whole.

History teems with the changes in mode of living brought about by the several ages from the stone to the iron; the steam; and now we find ourselves well within the threshold of the electrical age.

The labor and pains of humanity, attendant upon the introduction of each successive era, can be clearly shown to be a reflex of the industrial situation of the particular time. The acceptance of new theories, concepts and ideals depends less upon the brilliancy of their introduction than upon the adaptability and comprehension of the great mass of the people to whom they are presented.

The degree of education assimilated by men of all classes in any calling might well be measured by the state of organization in that industry or pursuit.

Surely all the elements in industrial life have learned the benefit of cooperation, and at no time in the industrial history of the world has the need for cooperation by all the elements within an industry been so apparent.

A commodity that is a necessity to all the people is the concern of all the people, and the manner in which they shall concern themselves depends primarily upon the conduct of that industry, its management, and attitude toward the people concerned.

Labor has for its first consideration the welfare of those who toil, and in cooperation with the technician, make great industries possible and profitable. Its influence as a factor must be in proportion to its progress and advancement in education.

The enlightened labor movement of today regards industrial warfare (strikes) in the same light as it views warfare between peoples as nations—a heritage from the days of savagery and only justifiable as a last resort and in defense.

The complex problem that must be met by the electrical industry in the development of its possibilities must be solved through legislative and diplomatic channels.

The questions of public or private ownership, of regulation, and policy, are inevitable and incidental to the big question as to whether the powers controlling electrical energy are to make of it the servant and agent of good

for all the people; or the inexorable master of the destiny of the masses, and responsive only to the will of a hierarchy of the industry.

Labor, ever preferring the path of evolution, stands ready and willing to cooperate with that agency whose avowed and demonstrated purpose will be to develop the natural resources for the greatest good to the greatest number; to husband the natural fuel supply for coming generations, by conservation, and the substitution of economically-generated electric power for other sources of power now consuming the natural raw materials.

Labor's age-old claim that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that those who devote their energies to the development and operation of an industry are fully entitled to a rational living and a remuneration that precludes the fear of want or of becoming a public charge when worn out or otherwise incapacitated, places it unequivocally in favor of industry being operated at a profit, whether by private interests or through public agencies; and that the capital, the labor and the consumer, share in the distribution of the profits accruing from the industry.

Labor is not interested in propaganda, but is concerned to assure a square deal to all groups in the industry as well as the consumers, of which Labor forms so great a part. Its ability to cooperate fully is contingent upon full recognition of trade unions, and full provisions for them to have such part in the industry as will give them opportunity to make their most complete contribution.

A Neglected Centenary

By W. A. APPLETON

IT IS 1924, and just a hundred years since Trade Unionism became a legal possibility, but who knows, who cares? No meetings have been held, no demonstrations, and no expressions of thankfulness in respect of an act which did for the common people very much what Magna Charta did for the nobles.

Nothing in the history of the country so conduced to beneficial changes in the social life of the people as did the act of 1824 "to repeal the laws relative to the combination of workmen; and for other purposes therein mentioned," and yet, in a decade which reeks with speeches and utterances concerning labor's rights and labor's exalted position, not a word appears to have been said about the effort and sacrifice which preceded and accompanied this legal resolution. Perhaps this year of 1924 finds us all too busy trying to discover why the millennium has not arrived—as the result of the political changes which have taken place—to leave us any time to celebrate the centenary of the greatest liberating labor event of all time.

I wonder whether many people realize today how tragic were the industrial conditions prior to the passing of this act of 1824? Not only were trade unions illegal institutions whose existence was condemnable by laws passed during centuries of feudal control and antagonistic legislation,

but the penalties against those who attempted to form trade unions were savagely drafted and savagely executed.

It was illegal even to hold a meeting to consider wages or to collectively approach an employer for the purpose of drawing his attention to wages, or hours, or working conditions. Any group of more than three persons who did so approach an employer, rendered themselves liable to the gravest penal consequences. Whatever then existed in the shape of trade unionism, existed illicitly, in secret, and in fear. Whatever wages were agreed upon were subject to wicked depreciation through the Truck System which left the employer power to substitute rubbish for cash.

The need for combination appears to us, who, a century later, read the history of industrial conditions, to have been a crying one. Times were as bad as bad could be. People were almost mad with suffering. Comparisons between prices and wages indicate the depth to which the standard of existence had fallen for most of the people engaged in industry. Improvements were imperative, but improvements were almost impossible in view of the brutal ignorance prevailing, of the legal restrictions, and the cultivated antagonisms.

If there is one thing above all others which trade unionists ought to rejoice over, and to celebrate, it is the centenary of the passing of that act which repealed those laws which, for so many years, prevented any collective expression of working class opinion or any collective action on matters connected with employment, with wages and with conditions. The fact of these laws is far from us. A hundred years have intervened. The horrors and wickednesses which these laws made possible have passed and only few of us can now visualize their effect upon the lives of the men and the women who worked. They were laws which silenced the voice of the millions of men and women and little children who suffered under an expanding and rapidly changing industrial system, the horrors of which were intensified by the inhumanity of the accepted moral and economic conceptions of the day.

There were heroes in the industrial movement of a century ago—strong men, who suffered the fate of the hero and the strong man. The results of their efforts are enjoyed. The fact of their effort is forgotten. I, who belong to an age in which labor fame is much more lightly achieved, do not forget, but take off my hat to those old heroes, and trust that wherever they are they bear no grudge against those who have shown but little gratitude. As one mark of respect I republish a small portion of the preamble of the act which meant so much for the British worker and made trade unionism possible:

Whereas it is expedient that the laws relative to the combination of workmen, and to fixing the wages of labour, should be repealed; . . . (here the offending acts are enumerated) . . . the said acts . . . together with all other laws, statutes, and enactments now in force throughout or in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, relative to combinations to obtain an advance of wages, or to lessen or alter the hours or duration of the time of working, or to decrease the quantity of work, or to regulate or control the mode of carrying on any manufacture, trade, or business, or the management thereof; . . . together with every other act and enactment enforcing or extending the application of any of the acts or enactments repealed by this act, shall be and the same are hereby repealed, save and except in as far as the same may have repealed any prior act or enactment.

The old preamble covers six very interesting pages and, with the remainder of the act, was passed on June 21, 1824.

Workers' Education—Its Importance

By FANNIA M. COHN

THERE was a time when the entire energy of the labor movement was consumed in building its unions. Its whole attention was consciously concentrated toward immediate economic demands, although sub-consciously to the attainment of ultimate aims. Naturally, at such a period in the history of the trade union movement, it was the fighter—the soldier in the trenches—who came to the front, and I bow my head to these men and women who laid the foundation of our trade union movement in this country. They fearlessly performed their duty; their devotion and self-sacrifice to the cause of labor call forth in us a feeling of gratitude and are an inspiration to the younger generation.

Our labor movement can be compared with the history of this country. At the time when the pilgrims migrated to this continent, with a rifle in hand they went in search of food, the first essential need of a human being. After this need was partly satisfied, they directed their attention toward the erection of shelters, the second essential of a civilized man. No sooner was this need satisfied, than they went in search of better clothes. When they had these three essentials, then they started to think of their intellectual and spiritual need—hence the erection of churches and universities.

The trade union movement in this country has gone through these three stages of development and now is approaching the fourth, where it feels that it is in a position to make its own intellectual and spiritual contribution. It is determined to make its own experiment in this field, and this is expressed in the movement for workers' education within the trade unions. Every group in modern society tries to give expression to its own ideals and conceptions of right and wrong; these are usually best reflected in their educational and social institutions. The labor movement, in making this independent experiment in education, is consciously or sub-consciously striving toward the creation of new spiritual and intellectual values. It realizes that the modern trade union movement is more and more becoming a gigantic institution, constantly increasing its activities.

It is natural that when the labor movement had to be constantly in the trenches in its fight for food and for a decent living, it was not in a position to think about anything else but how to satisfy these elemental needs of the worker. While it was striving for ordinary human rights, for decent treatment of workers who were engaged in the mills and factories, it could not give any attention to the need for adult workers' education. But with the increasing leisure of the toiling masses, through the supreme effort of the trade unions to decrease their working hours, came the question of how to spend these hours.

The question then arises who should voice labor's aspirations and hopes in its new venture in the field of workers' education, who should carry the message to the workers that knowledge is power? Who more than an intelligent trade unionist? It is not only the application of the mind that makes the appeal to human imagination and idealism, this must be coupled with fine feeling and a faith in the aims of the organized labor movement.

If workers' education is to serve the labor movement, then it must be coordinated with the interest of organized labor. It should be the object of the workers' education movement to break down the artificial barrier between education and life. In workers' education we want every student to feel that his union life is a vital part of his education, and his educational life a vital part of his union. We want him to bring his union problems to all classes and to take his reflection and added grasp of facts gained in study back to his shop and the business meeting of the union.

Fortunately enough there is the army of instructors in every field of intellectual endeavor who are willing to place their knowledge and skill at the disposal of the American labor movement through which the workers' education movement is functioning. These men and women are in need of the assistance of intelligent and devoted persons within the labor movement to acquaint them with the trials and tribulations, the victories and defeats, and the manifold problems of the organized labor movement. They also want to understand better the policies of the labor movement and the causes and psychology out of which they were formulated. The assistance that we can give these people will be invaluable for the contact of these two groups—the men and women of theory and the men and women of action—is bound to resolve itself into a great constructive social force. Workers' education provides this contact.

In workers classes we expect that the instructor should not simply give instruction but should also foster a spirit of comradeship. It is not our intention merely to imitate the conventional method of instruction and "regimentation" but we base our instruction on the conviction that the aims and aspirations of the workers can be realized only through their own efforts on the economic and educational fields. Emphasis is laid on the fact that while organization gives the worker power, education will give him the ability to use that power intelligently and effectively. We keep away from the conventional idea of education where students strive to use it as a ladder for their own personal advancement; we emphasize that the education the workers get is to be placed at the disposal of the labor movement in particular and society in general. To achieve this we must create in the classroom an atmosphere which will imbue in the student and teacher a proper spirit of understanding, and this will come from the contact of the intelligent and active trade unionist and the scholar.

The question arises to many, has the labor movement such persons within its midst who are qualified to interest and to bring into its service the trained technician, educators and scholars? The answer is yes. This new movement calls to the front a new element within the trade unions. We see them here and there offering their service, bringing with them enthusiasm, idealism and vision. But are we encouraging these new soldiers in the cause of the labor movement? Do we appreciate the contribution of these men and women who are giving their life, energy and idealism in the development of the workers' education? I hope that we do.

The labor movement sooner or later will appreciate the need for developing under its own auspices education for adult workers. There is no need

to emphasize the value of workers' education to the labor movement. The trade union movement has always been interested in education but it was directed toward the needs of the young—the children. Now it is reaching out into a new field and this is the workers' education movement. Labor insists that this, its new creation, be under trade union auspices.

Under the present system of industry, man follows the machine. There is no chance for personal development or initiative on the part of the worker. It is only through the trade unions that workers obtain an opportunity to act in many capacities on the industrial, economic, political, cooperative and educational fields. The trade union movement gives an aim and philosophy to the worker. It formulates a constructive plan and creates new economic and spiritual values. As members of unions, they have a chance to develop their creative faculties. Through their trade unions, they act collectively and think of the good of the group, rather than of their individual advancement, and it is to be expected that workers' education will help the workers in this direction. Therefore those who are behind the workers' education movement wish to give to it a larger meaning than that of mere adult education. They hope to make it an instrument both for labor's immediate struggles and in its ultimate social program. Labor insists that workers' education, unlike conventional education, which seeks to adjust the individual to his surroundings must seek to help adjust the surroundings to the needs of the individual in modern society.

If the movement for workers' education is to achieve what its sponsors formulated as its aim, then organized labor will have to support it wholeheartedly, morally and financially. They will have to encourage trade unionists engaged in it and consider their activities a contribution to the growth, strength and influence of the labor movement.

VISITORS FROM GREAT BRITAIN



A. B. SWALES

C. T. CRAMP

*British Trade Union Fraternal Delegates to El Paso Convention.—
C. T. Cramp, General Secretary, National Union of Railwaymen. A. B. Swales, Executive Member, Amalgamated Engineering Union.*

"* * * Calvaries and crucifixions take deepest hold of humanity—the triumphs of might are transient—they pass and are forgotten—the sufferings of right are graven deepest on the chronicles of nations"

A LAND WITHOUT RUINS

"Yes, give me the land where the ruins are spread,
And the living tread light on the hearts of the dead;
Yes, give me a land that is blest by the dust
And bright with the deeds of the down-trodden just.
Yes, give me the land where the battle's red blast
Has flashed to the future the flame of the past;
Yes, give me the land that hath legends and lays
That tell of the memories of long vanished days;
Yes, give me a land that hath story and song
Enshrine the strife of the right with the wrong;
Yes, give me a land with a grave in each spot
And names in the graves that shall not be forgot;
Yes, give me the land of the wreck and the tomb—
There is grandeur in graves—there is glory in gloom;
For out of the gloom future brightness is born
As after the night comes the sunrise of morn;
And the graves of the dead with the grass overgrown
May yet form the footstool of liberty's throne,
And each single wreck in the war-path of might,
Shall yet be a rock in the temple of right."

—From "*Father Ryan's Poems*."

I repeat * * * that all power is a trust; that we are accountable for its exercise; that from the people and for the people all springs, and all must exist.—*Disraeli*.

Liberty * * * is one of the most valuable blessings that Heaven has bestowed upon mankind.—*Cervantes*.

It is by presence of mind in untried emergencies that the native metal of a man is tested.—*Lowell*.

A great man is made up of qualities that meet or make great occasions.—*Lowell*.

No man can produce great things who is not thoroughly sincere in dealing with himself.—*Lowell*.

It was in making education not only common to all, but in some sense compulsory on all, that the destiny of the free republics of America was practically settled.—*Lowell*.

Puritanism, believing itself quick with the seed of religious liberty, laid without knowing it, the egg of democracy.—*Lowell*.

One thorn of experience is worth a whole wilderness of warning.—*Lowell*.

Great truths are portions of the soul of man;
Great souls are portions of eternity.

—*Lowell*.

CAST YOUR VOTE!



**That government of the people, by the people, for the people,
shall not perish from the earth.—Lincoln.**

EDITORIALS

By
SAMUEL GOMPERS

On November 17 an unique and historic event will occur. Conventions of two great labor movements will be called into session on the international border between Mexico and the United States. Included in the American Federation of Labor we have the labor movement of Canada, so the conventions at El Paso, Tex., and Juarez, Mexico, will bring together the organized wage earners of three great countries. Never has there been such a gathering of representatives of the workers as this will be. It is of surpassing significance.

**THE SPIRIT OF
AMERICAN
LABOR**

The American Federation of Labor will open its convention in El Paso. The Mexican Federation of Labor will convene just across the river in Juarez. There will be international ceremonials attendant upon the opening of these two conventions—ceremonials such as would be possible only where the Latin love of color finds expression. Americans will observe these ceremonials with pleasure because, while we give less expression to the love of color and display, we enjoy it none the less.

During the period in which the two conventions are in session there will be joint meetings for fraternal intercourse, in order that in great common assemblages there may be opportunity for expressions of a common idealism and a common purpose.

It is doubtful if there is anywhere else the same high degree of unity and sympathy that exist between the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor. The two movements have more than once demonstrated their common understanding. They have more than once joined in common effort. They have labored together for the uplift of all working people and their labors have been rewarded with achievements which will live as long as history is preserved and read.

The conventions of these two movements this year will deal with mighty currents in human affairs. The Mexican workers have elected a president in whom they have full faith and confidence—a man whom they count as one of them. They will go from their convention to his inauguration. They feel a fresh breath of freedom in that great accomplishment.

The American workers will go to their convention fresh from a great political campaign into which they have poured their energy as never before. As these lines are written that campaign is in its white heat of turmoil and struggle. But whatever the outcome the workers will go to their convention in El Paso with the consciousness that they have given of their best in the cause of human freedom. There can be no such struggle without success, whether that success is or is not immediately visible.

But great and significant as may be these two great political efforts, political campaigns are, after all, but secondary considerations in the trade union movement. The greatest single fact that will be recorded at El Paso and at Juarez is that the two movements have come through the year in

solidarity, with strength increased, with material conditions improved, with spirits high, idealism at its loftiest and determination at its staunchest. The great story is the story of the growth and progress of trade unionism as such.

It will be a privilege to attend these conventions. It will be an inspiration. On to El Paso! On to Juarez! On to the great goal of Labor!

It is well worth the time of every trade unionist and it is well worth the time of students of economic progress everywhere to read **CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS** in this issue of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST the article prepared by Santiago Iglesias, president of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor. The Porto Rico Federation of Labor bears the same relation to the American Federation of Labor as any of the state federations.

There probably is no spot in Latin America where the workers have so successfully battled for freedom and for material progress. The record that has been made in Porto Rico is one of which the American Federation of Labor is justly proud.

The Porto Rican workers have, as part of the American Federation of Labor, followed the policies of the American Federation of Labor. There is no better proof that these policies are sound and that they can not be applied wherever workers are battling for their rights and for progress and freedom.

The Porto Rican people are of the Spanish race. It has been thought by many that Spanish-speaking peoples would not or could not apply themselves to the carrying out of principles and policies unless those policies and principles were arrayed in the flaming garb of the anarcho-syndicalist school. It has been thought that there must be effervescence and bombast—great language, topped always with wondrous but ineffective perorations.

How far from the truth is that old idea! Principles are not a matter of race or of nationality. Wherever the conditions of life and the institutions of men have reached a certain stage certain principles will apply and race and geography have nothing to do with the case.

Porto Rico offers an example of constructive effort. It will pay to read the story of the Porto Rican workers. They have fought nobly. They have little more than made a beginning, but it is a sound beginning and their future is boundless.

It is propitious that the opening of Education Week is on the same day that the convention of the American Federation of Labor convenes in El Paso, Texas, and will thereby give impetus to this much needed service. **EDUCATION COMPELS JUSTICE**

The American Federation of Labor will conduct this year, as in former years a campaign for the promotion and observance of American Education Week from November 17th to 23rd.

The World War revealed to us a startling and almost unwholly unexpected degree of illiteracy more or less general throughout the country. It was as a result of the findings during the war period that American

Education Week was established by the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor.

It is primarily essential that illiteracy be abolished everywhere, but the elimination of illiteracy is merely the first step in the process of education.

Education Week is, therefore, much more than a struggle against illiteracy; it is an effort to awaken everywhere the desire for better education which means the general possession of more knowledge. Education Week has been so divided that each day is set part for the consideration of some phase of educational work. With that in view the days of the week beginning November 17 have been named as follows:

Monday, Constitution Day; Tuesday, Patriotism Day; Wednesday, School and Teachers' Day; Thursday, Illiteracy Day; Friday, Physical Education Day; Saturday, Community Day; Sunday, For God and Country Day.

It is suggested and urged that labor organizations everywhere cooperate with all bodies interested in the promotion of Education Week. It is hoped that in every community the mayor will issue a proclamation designating the week and asking for general cooperation. Newspapers and motion picture theaters should be urged to contribute to the promotion of the purpose of the campaign and to explanations of its purposes, both before and during the week. Where public meetings are held it is urged that trade unionists join in the programs as speakers and that trade unionists show their interest by attendance at such meetings.

Many other ways will occur to those in each community for an adequate observance of Education Week. No one is more vitally interested in the development of education than the wage earner and it is to be hoped that the participation of all will be adequate in every instance.

Ignorance and tyranny are twin evils. Injustice flees before an educated people.

The year 1924 marks the centenary of one of the most important events in human history, and yet it has almost passed in all but total failure of recognition.

**CENTENNIAL OF A
WORLD EVENT**

W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, in his most recent quarterly report calls attention to the historical significance of this year, reminding Americans as well as Englishmen of their regrettable neglect of the anniversary.

It was in 1824 that the British Parliament repealed the laws which up to that time had made all organization among wage earners unlawful. We are passing this year, therefore, the one hundredth anniversary of trade unionism as a lawful institution. Elsewhere in this issue of the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST* we republish what Mr. Appleton has to say because of its historical interest as well as because of its timeliness.

It will be fitting for the convention of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso to give appropriate recognition to this anniversary of a profound and fundamental change in human relations.

It is an anniversary of a great achievement of human freedom and it

marked in the course of society's development a revolutionary advance more significant than many which we customarily remember and observe.

Until the trade union movement came into existence the wage earner possessed no voice in the shaping of his destiny politically or in the world of toil. It was the act of the British Parliament of one hundred years ago which gave the trade union movement the lawful right to exist and therefore gave to the workers a lawful right to speak. It is a long road filled with achievement after achievement that has been traveled in the intervening years.

There can be today no successful denial of the right of trade unionism to exist and no successful stifling of the voice with which it speaks. There is much yet to be achieved—just how much no one really knows because while there is human life there will be ambition for better and ever better things. The ground upon which we stand so firmly today, however, is ours because of the sacrifices and achievements of the past.

One of the earliest and most deeply significant of all of these was the act of one hundred years ago but which has been recalled to the memory of so many who are traveling strange paths. It is well to contemplate upon such anniversaries the heroic struggles and victories of the past; it is well to review the obstacles that have been overcome. Doing so, we measure our progress and take heart for the battles which still remain to be fought.

No prophesy of one hundred years ago, when all who toiled were in bondage, with few, if any, legal rights that others were bound to respect, could have foreseen the civilization today and the manner in which wage earners today do their work, enjoy their freedom, and live their lives. We are no more able than they to see a century into the future.

We may, however, by dwelling upon the recorded past, envision in our imagination some small measure of the tremendous possibilities of the future, and in so doing fire our energies afresh and make us the more eager to transform those possibilities into the realities of life.

We may gain a fresh understanding of the great role of the trade union movement and of the paramount necessity of bringing into its fold all who labor usefully in the complexity of modern civilization. We may better understand it as the keystone of the whole arch of our rights and liberties—an arch which is also the gateway to the future.

On July 1, 1924, 15,552,077 motor vehicles were registered in the United States, according to the Bureau of Public Roads of the United States Department of Agriculture. This represents an increase of 2,549,650 motor vehicles or 20 per cent over the registration of July 1, 1923. There is now one motor vehicle for each 6.6 persons.

That this enormous and unprecedented ownership of automobiles, ranging from the humblest of "flivvers" to the most lordly and costliest of American and foreign-made cars, represents a high average of general well-being can not be gainsaid. It shows that there is much prosperity in the

United States and demonstrates that the people have been making tremendous strides in the ownership of modern civilization's products. The automobile ownership is especially significant when it is considered that wage earners of every kind make up the great bulk of car owners.

There is another side to the picture, however, that should not be overlooked. Despite the great and ever-growing ownership of automobiles—only a few short years ago considered luxuries beyond the reach of all but the wealthiest—there is a constant unemployment problem that argues that a large number of persons are not getting their share of the general prosperity.

That this all-the-year-around unemployment problem is not a trivial matter is revealed by a study just completed by the Russell Sage Foundation. The Foundation, which has been investigating employment needs, methods and agencies for five years, finds that averaging good and bad years, 10 to 12 per cent of all the workers in the United States, several million of men and women, are out of work all the time, and widespread unemployment is now a constant phenomenon with far-reaching economic, social, psychological and moral bearings and consequences.

This is a serious situation and no amount of figures on automobile ownership will tend to make it less serious. It is a situation that is responsible for distress, misery and grinding poverty, to say nothing of bitter discontent. On this phase of the results of ever-constant unemployment, the Foundation report says:

"There is something which we are just beginning to recognize, a resentment on the part of the workers against an industrial situation in which such insecurity and uncertainty of employment are possible. It is not only unemployment, but the fear of unemployment, the knowledge that any job is uncertain and insecure, subject to the fluctuations of economic change, which are responsible for much of our present industrial unrest."

The figures to which we have referred give no encouragement to those who are inclined to preach despair. If similar figures for a decade ago were available for comparison we should undoubtedly find that there has been vast improvement. It is unmistakably true that in general terms, and so far as the vast majority of wage earners are concerned, there has been progressive improvement, not only in wages, hours of labor and conditions of work, but also in continuity of employment.

No amount of general progress of improvement, however, can compensate those who remain the victims of maladjustment and who are passed by, untouched by progressive developments. As long as there remains one person who is willing to work and for whom there is no work, there exists an economic and social problem which thrusts its responsibility upon every citizen of the Republic. This responsibility is peculiarly a responsibility upon the labor movement because the laborers are the first concern of the movement which they have brought into being.

We are confronted by the fact that not only are there from ten to twelve per cent of the workers continuously unemployed, but in certain trades there is still tremendous seasonal unemployment. It is being discovered

that this seasonal unemployment can be largely reduced, because the causes for such unemployment are subject to human control. Some illuminating and startling figures on seasonal employment in the building industry have been compiled by the Boston Building Congress. This congress is composed of representatives of the various factors in the building industry, including labor. As a result of the study made in Boston, it has been found that ten trades in the building industry have steady employment during only three months in the year and that two other trades have steady employment for less than three months during the year. Only two trades enjoy steady employment for six months and only two other trades enjoy steady employment for five months.

It is almost a certainty that in most of the cities, except those favored by warm winter climate the percentage of seasonal unemployment in the building industry runs nearly as high.

Here is a problem worthy of the study and consideration of every factor in industry. In helping to solve or partially solve, the problem, organized labor can take a leading and important part. Organized labor is vitally interested in the solution of unemployment, both constant and occasional, as unemployment is a direct danger to the unions and union standards, to say nothing of being a danger to them by reason of being a menace to the nation as a whole.

Some progress has been made in studying and solving unemployment by a committee on seasonal operation in the construction industries, appointed by Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, as a result of the president's conference on unemployment, which met in Washington in September, 1921. The committee, which included representatives of organized labor, reported that custom, not climate, is mainly responsible for seasonal idleness in the building industries. In other words, the committee found that idleness in the building industries, unless a result of general depression, is largely unnecessary.

What actual effect the findings and recommendations of the committee will have on stabilizing employment in the building trades remains to be seen. At any rate, a promising beginning at studying and solving the problem in one industry has been made and that in time it will lead to tangible results of a helpful nature is probable.

At the same time, it is well never to forget that the unemployed want actual employment, not theoretical help. The unemployed are not concerned with the prosperity enjoyed by others. It will not help the jobless man or woman to tell him that there is now one motor vehicle for each 6.6 persons. He or she will reply that they are not interested in indexes of general prosperity; what they want is a job. That is the only real solution of the unemployment problem.

Increased means and increased leisure are the two civilizers of man.—*Disraeli.*

Nothing happens to anybody which he is not fitted by nature to bear.—*Marcus Aurelius.*

Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover made on September 29 a masterly address on the subject of government ownership. There is no industrial statesman in the world today for whom organized labor has had more admiration and respect. Mr. Hoover made his address as a campaign document. That was his error. The question of the economic functions of government is too far reaching and important to be made a partisan campaign issue. And there is no adequate reason for Mr. Hoover's attempt to make it an issue in the present campaign. Mr. Hoover in this speech has stepped down to the level of partisan politics. He is not the sort of man to misstate or misrepresent intentionally. But he has both misstated and misinterpreted the progressive and labor position in that address.

**A SPLENDID MAN
GONE WRONG**

Mr. Hoover says:

Senator La Follette's party proposes Government ownership and operation of the railway and other public utilities. The Senator emphasizes this: "I am for Government ownership of railroads and every other public utility—every one." This means all railways, power, light, telephone and telegraph.

The truth, as Mr. Hoover well knows, is that La Follette's movement is not a party, but a temporary union of progressive Republicans and progressive Democrats, and Independents. La Follette, as Mr. Hoover knows does not advocate the governmental *operation* of anything except water power, nor does he advocate *immediate* government ownership of anything except water power. Senator La Follette is pledged not to immediate but to ultimate government ownership of railroads and public utilities. He is for "ultimate" government ownership of the railways but with "democratic operation and safeguards against bureaucratic control." These steps in government ownership are defended by those progressives who advocate them not at all on the Socialist ground that all private industry should be governmentally owned and operated, but on the opposite ground that only semi-public services should be governmentalized, that this should be done only in varying degrees and precisely in order that private industry should be "restored" and freed from the overshadowing power of "monopoly" in the field of transportation, power and finance.

President Coolidge says that "America would not be America if the people were shackled with Government monopolies." La Follette does not deny it. With the exceptions mentioned he does not stand for Government monopoly. His chief remedy for private monopolies in what he regards as public or semi-public services is not government ownership but government "control." He is for "public control of natural resources," "public control of the nation's money and credit."

Organized labor stands for the most thorough-going kind of governmental control to stop the corruption and abuses which monopoly has developed. It wants industry honestly and fairly conducted, with freedom for the workers and room also for normal, natural economic development and change. It is the enemy of autocracy and bureaucracy alike and it sees in government ownership no necessary remedy. Yet in all affairs the people

must find a way to make their voice effective as the source of all final decision.

Mr. Hoover says:

It is a question of whether it shall be government ownership or private ownership under control.

To organized labor and to the great majority of the progressives this is not at all the main issue. The main issue is the question of *control* and *operation*, whether there is government ownership or private ownership. Labor's opposition to governmental operation, which—as Mr. Hoover points out—might interfere with the right collectively to cease work, is so unqualified that there is no section of the labor movement, no matter how radical, which does not oppose it. In so far as government ownership means government operation Labor is unanimously against it.

Mr. Hoover says:

Neither our national nor our state governments are planned or equipped for the task of government operation of utilities.

A man with the equipment of the Secretary of Commerce for securing adequate information ought to know better than attempt to make out that any large group of progressives or of the labor movement questions this or that it is an issue in the present campaign. He is guilty, whatever may be his excuse, of having totally and fundamentally misrepresented the progressive movement. Moreover, Mr. Hoover has no right lightly to waive aside the admission of those leading progressives who do advocate government ownership that we are not ready for government ownership at the present time, an admission made in the La Follette platform.

That important La Follette progressive, Senator Ladd of North Dakota, has explained in an illuminating passage just why even the more radical progressive leaders are for "ultimate" government ownership of the railways only and why they voted *against* such measures as the government ownership of Muscle Shoals and every form of governmental ship subsidy:

Some of my friends were surprised because I favored turning Muscle Shoals over to Henry Ford instead of standing for Government ownership. My answer was that both the old parties were too rotten to entrust such a Government job to. *We must have good government before we have much Government ownership. So we must go slowly and endure some of our present ills until we are strong enough for the task.* Yet there is no hope for the future if Government can't be improved according to its growing responsibilities. Community life has become too vast and complex for the continued discharge by private agencies of some functions, and if Government can not be made honest and efficient enough to handle them we are in a bad way.

The more radical of the La Follette progressives are for government ownership of public utilities only—and then only gradually and ultimately.

Mr. Hoover makes a very interesting argument on government control. But he says:

To whatever extent we have failed in control, whether it be through over-control or through insufficient control it is a challenge to us to perfect our system.

To this a statement for or against control? Mr. Hoover proceeds to make several other statements that would raise serious doubts of his earnest-

ness as an advocate of control, especially in view of the fact that President Coolidge in one of his latest speeches has shown that he also favors control in a less than half-hearted manner. The fact is that the president's language can have only one interpretation, namely, that he thinks there has already been too much control. And when Mr. Hoover reverts to the very opposite principle to governmental control, namely, to a reliance upon the beneficence, public spirit and intelligence of the private interests who now operate our public utilities, he aligns himself absolutely with President Coolidge. Mr. Hoover makes altogether too much of the claim that —

There has been a genuine growth of business conscience and services, and this growth is far more precious than any amount of legislation.

There is some truth in his statement but neither Labor, the progressives or the American people generally intend to rely on the business conscience to protect them from the dishonesty, inefficiency, and inhumanity which now marks their conduct of industry.

The able and well-informed Secretary of Commerce introduces other propositions of a similar character, all tending not to strengthen but to weaken the case for governmental control. He inveighs, for example, against that governmental centralization that would be necessary for thorough-going control, pointing out that our political system is decentralized. This is an absurdly illogical argument. The centralization of industry is a process which Mr. Hoover thoroughly understands and approves as does American labor as well as every forward looking progressive. For those backward looking pseudo-progressives who want to restore the industrial conditions of 1875 are only a minority now. In so far as industry is centralized Mr. Hoover knows that government control will either have to be centralized or abandoned. His argument in this connection amounts to nothing more nor less than an argument against government control, and in favor of a continuation of the beneficent and autocratic rule of "the men to whom God has given the control over the business interests of this country."

Of similar import is Mr. Hoover's horror lest the government should desert its purely human field and have something to say about economic questions. He says:

We have constructed our government upon the theme that its major purpose is to preserve human liberty amid the changing social and economic scene. If we divert it to the changing of money we shall have lost sadly for the future.

This paragraph is perhaps the most serious of all in the doubts it raises as to Mr. Hoover's earnestness, we do not say sincerity, in advocating any governmental control whatever. Governmental control of any economic operation, of course, involves money questions.

Finally, Mr. Hoover is just as much concerned as Mr. Coolidge or Mr. Dawes or any of the reactionaries with whom he is surrounded with the terrible danger that we may have another "bloc" created in our political life. He has never inveighed against the financial bloc, the manufacturers' bloc or the bloc of the Chambers of Commerce, but he becomes very deeply and no doubt honestly concerned over the possibility of a bloc of the employes of governmentally controlled services. What is illegitimate or dangerous

about such a bloc? What is dangerous about a political bloc representing organized labor or a political bloc representing the farmers' organizations. The only danger is that these blocs will fuse in Congress—as they have already done—into a progressive bloc which would deprive of all power the reactionary bloc representing the consolidated interests.

Mr. Hoover's address is a gross misrepresentation, not only in what it says but in what it leaves unsaid. How can there be an honest or adequate discussion of the pros and cons of governmental intervention in economic affairs without referring to the governmental intervention that has already taken place and is taking place in favor of the interests. La Follette has shown that it is "the interests" who have chiefly sought governmental favors, while his clients, the farmers, are suffering chiefly from disadvantages due to governmental intervention in that private industry, agriculture. La Follette said:

Those interests which demand ship subsidies, tax reduction, profiteers, railroad guarantors, fat oil and land grabs and other special privilege legislation make the argument that the farmer must pull himself out of his difficulties by his bootstraps and that nothing the Federal Government can do by law would prove of the slightest assistance.

The truth is that the farmer is suffering chiefly from artificial disadvantages which have heretofore been saddled upon his back by act of Congress or by the policies of the executive branch of the Government.

La Follette's main objectives—as far as governmental activities are concerned—are anti-Socialist and his chief aim is to do away with governmental activities that hurt the farmer or favor "the interests."

Secretary Hoover has written himself as an opponent of effective governmental control. His reasoning is especially faulty in that he makes a contrast between the preservation of human liberty and economic issues which he "the changing of money." Senator La Follette, the progressives, and organized labor, on the contrary, realize that no line can be drawn between economic and human problems.

In his letter to the American Federation of Labor, dated August 16th, the Wisconsin Senator says that he stands with organized labor for a certain kind of conservatism—conservatism as applied to human rights, human lives, and natural resources. But he also says he stands with labor against another kind of conservatism, which he defines variously as the conservation of "certain inequitable advantages," "special privileges," "unfairly acquired property rights," "vested rights" and "property rights" which are against "human rights."

When La Follette accuses the two old parties of the defense of "vested rights" and endorses labor's stand for "human rights" as against "property rights" he definitely aligns himself with labor. In his Labor Day speech La Follette declared that in overthrowing "the system" the progressives will not trespass "either upon property rights or human rights." But organized labor is unanimous in holding that whenever there is a conflict between human rights and property rights human rights should prevail—

and in his letter of August 16th and on other occasions La Follette has definitely pledged himself to that standpoint.

When in his speech of acceptance Senator La Follette calls for "a realignment in American politics" and hopes for the formation of "an aggressively progressive party" he shows that he means a progressive party representing certain economic groups. He shows this by his definition, in his letter and elsewhere, of the forces with which he proposes to align himself. La Follette has recently declared he is fighting against "the control over the Government by organized wealth" and in his letter of acceptance he quotes Woodrow Wilson to the effect that "Our Government has been for the past few years under the control of the heads of the great allied corporations with the special interests." The Conference for Progressive Political Action that nominated him refers to "our present system of corporation control of industries, banks and credit." The American Federation of Labor has recorded itself repeatedly against the corporation power. The Government must protect the individual against the great artificial corporate person.

La Follette's letter of acceptance denounced "the organized banking interests which own the railroads, control credit, and dominate the industrial life of the nation," while the president of the American Federation of Labor, to mention only one typical utterance, congratulated Senator Magnus Johnson for having "won so magnificently against all the powers of high finance."

Organized wealth, the great corporations, high finance, however, are by no means the whole of the forces the radical-progressives expect to see "aligned" on the other side. It was predicted months ago by labor that one of the major parties would be eliminated if both continued to believe that the one important means of advancing the interests of farmers and wage earners was not to help them directly but "to promote business." The American Federation of Labor and its president have repeatedly pointed at the United States Chamber of Commerce as embodying this "old-party" view, and President Barrett of the National Board of Farm Organizations and the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union attacks that body, as being in reality "the National Association of Lobbyists and assistant government."

But here again La Follette's fundamentally non-socialist economics come in to draw the line. Not only farmers but "small merchants" are welcome in the progressive movement, it has been repeatedly said "Economic freedom and equality of opportunity" are needed also for the independent manufacturer and even the independent banker.

No opportunity has been missed to invite the collaboration of organizations that cut right across all economic lines, such as cooperatives, religious bodies and women's organizations. Nor can it be successfully denied that Labor and La Follette have secured an immense amount of collaboration and support among every one of these elements.

In the words of Patrick Henry, "If this be radicalism, make the most of it." Like Messrs. Coolidge and Dawes, Mr. Hoover has been led to neglect the most essential facts of the situation. Because of his unquestioned capacity and knowledge of economics, Labor is particularly anxious to direct his attention to the real issues and divert him if possible from a further waste of his talents on the straw-man he so ably effectively and brilliantly demolished in his address of the 29th of September.

Porto Rico's Onward March

By SANTIAGO IGLESIAS

President, Free Federation of Workers of Porto Rico

EDITOR'S NOTE.—*In this article Mr. Iglesias reports in detail on the developments of the year and explains the status of the workers in Porto Rico at this time. Here is an interesting exposition of the achievements that have followed trade union organization. It is a magnificent story of progress—progress gained by constructive methods and unrelenting fighting.*

THERE has never been in the past in Porto Rico a year in which our labor organizations have had to be more active, diligent and combatant than the year covered by this report. Most peculiar conditions were created by the employing class and their political agents in the legislature, in industry, and everywhere. In their strenuous and unprecedented efforts to crush labor and establish autocracy they have necessarily compelled us to bring to the industrial and political fight a larger amount of energy and activity than in previous years.

The political question, which always has taken a secondary place in our endeavors for bettering social and economic conditions, in this electoral year had to become practically our main issue in many instances because of the abnormal and unwarranted political and general conditions brought about by the combination of all the reactionary forces pretending to save Porto Rico by the imposition of a new system of government consisting in the abolition of all the political parties—particularly the labor party—the abolition of universal suffrage, of primary elections, of all popular intervention in the nomination of the men who should serve the government, and the abolition of the whole democratic machinery of representative government, establishing in its place a so-called **directory** of 14 men, chosen by themselves to rule our country with a kind of government predicated on the very form and theory of Primo de Rivera's and Mussolini's governments. This was, in substance, the program of the ignorant new *reformers* picked up from among the intellectuals, who fail to realize the real achievements of labor education, and who tried to make us believe in their fallacious propaganda and to accept their miserable political panacea elaborated in Wall Street "to make this country safe for the unscrupulous employers' party."

This could not be accepted or even tolerated at all in Porto Rico at this time under the American flag and after organized labor and the people of Porto Rico in general had been educated in American principles, American practices, and American ideals for the last 25 years.

And the reactionary and employing classes, fearing the independent and free action of the laborers who had begun to use their balloting power during the last years against the usurpers of their health, life and labor, to secure proper legislation, tried to commit the crime of depriving this people of their rights. We could not be accomplices with our silence to this social and political crime which was to be committed and which would give to the bosses all the power they need to perpetuate the most horrible of all crimes, the

economic crime by which this people is condemned to starve to death.

This being the situation, we had to fight for our political guarantees and for the preservation of all our institutions, perhaps more intensively and more bravely and determinedly than we had done in the past. We could not and can not help but keep up the fight. What would become of organized labor in this island, or, indeed, what would become of progress if these bourbon people be allowed to abolish freedom and establish a dictatorship? This explanation will let the organized labor movement in the mainland know why we have had during this year to devote so much of our time to politics. Will reaction succeed? We hope not. The people will tell in the November election if full guarantees are assured for the free expression of their will.

International Labor Officials Visit Our Island

In April of this year we were fortunate in being visited by First Vice-President John J. Cosgrove, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. He brought with him Messrs. Daniel Hutcheson, auditor of the brotherhood, and Valemar Furey, a resident member of New York. They were accorded a fraternal reception by the organized workers of Porto Rico and particularly by the local unions of carpenters in the island. In their tour they practically covered the island and visited every place, and I am assured that the impression they got of our movement was wonderful. Several meetings and conferences were held at the most important towns and cities and at these towns Brother Cosgrove proved to be the kind of official we need in the leadership of our movement. His addresses to our people were instructive and interesting and our people listened to his advice attentively.

At Ponce, Mr. Cosgrove was made a guest of honor by the mayor of the city and the municipal authorities.

I accompanied him to every place he visited and it was my honor and pleasure to translate into Spanish most of the speeches he made at the meetings and conferences. Organizer Rivera Martinez, of the Cigar Makers' International Union, also traveled with us and gave to us all the help he was able to give in translation and in preparing for meetings.

The visit of Mr. Cosgrove was very encouraging to the carpenters of Porto Rico and the working people in general, and it is regrettable that we are not visited more frequently by international officials of the different national and international unions that have subordinate local unions in Porto Rico or that might have them in the future.

I feel that the efforts of Mr. Cosgrove in Porto Rico have not been in vain and this has been proved by the revival that has been recorded in the movement of the carpenters since his visit. Mr. Cosgrove also visited the Virgin Islands.

Let us hope that the international labor officials in the future will think a little more of this small spot of the world where there is no winter, no cold, and no snow.

Employers' Policy and Strikes

During the last year three very important strike movements took place, comprising the following trades:

Machinists working for the railroad of Porto Rico and other employes.
Cigarmakers and employes of the cigar industry.
Workingmen of the wharves and longshoremen.

These strikes were of short duration, but involved more than 15,000 people. The action taken by the employers and some government officials was to prosecute the men until the movement was ended.

The policy forced upon the workers was:

Reduction in the number of employes and the closing down of shops and factories so as to keep the men and women unemployed and make them starve.

Total destruction of the bill of prices, hours of labor and working conditions at the fields, shops and factories.

Enforcement of the so-called "open-shop system" and an absolute refusal to deal collectively with labor organizations or their representatives. Practically a system of "closed shops" was established for the organized men and women.

Blacklisting and boycotting of the men and women of the labor organizations.

Violation of all the labor laws placed on the statutes and violent attacks in the courts against the Workmen's Compensation Law to have it declared unconstitutional and securing injunctions against the Treasurer of Porto Rico and the Workmen's Compensation Commission to restrain them from enforcing the law against certain employers.

The chief of the Insular Bureau of Labor and other inspectors and employes of the bureau who were members of our labor organization were expelled from the bureau without cause, without due process of law and in violation of the civil service law to please the employers and leave them unmolested by the work of these officials.

In spite of the violent attacks of all the combined forces of capital and reaction our organized labor movement has succeeded in resistance and our principles have been saved and our unions are alive, and we have been and are gradually recovering and regaining all the ground lost in these last battles. We are reconstructing and reorganizing our local unions with the firm purpose and determination in view of inspiring the progress of the masses and bettering working and living conditions until we have succeeded finally in having labor dignified and humanized in all parts of Porto Rico.

Special Convention of Agricultural Laborers and Allied Branches of the Sugar Industry of Porto Rico

On November 11, 1923, a very important special convention of the agricultural laborers was held attended also by the machinists and railroad workers of the sugar mills and longshoremen occupied in the transportation of sugar. All these trades are engaged in different works on the fields where sugar is produced, in the factories and transportation in general.

Some thirty organizations were represented at the convention. Most important resolutions were adopted intended to promote organization among them. At the same time a project of agreement and scale of wages of \$2.50 per day was adopted for the agricultural workers to go into operation during the crop of sugar cane. In January, because of the refusal of the employers to discuss their demands, nearly 40,000 agricultural workers had to resort to a peaceful strike. With the cooperation of our labor officials in the organization and the intervention of the Mediation and Conciliation Commission, two members of which are bona fide members of our organization, agreements were reached by which the strike was brought to an end. A daily salary of \$1.50 was secured taking as a basis \$5.00 as the price for 100 pounds of sugar, and additional pay of 10 per cent as increase for every additional dollar that the 100 pounds of sugar might be sold for according to the prices in the American market. These increases, however, lasted for a very short period, because of these laborers not being strong enough in their organization to have such wages enforced permanently.

Number of Organizations Affiliated with the State Federation of Labor

The number of organizations affiliated with the State Federation of Labor of Porto Rico at this time is the following:

Cigar Makers' Unions.....	13
Carpenters' Unions.....	17
Typographical Union.....	1
Painters' Unions.....	3
Women's Protective Union.....	1
Barbers' Unions.....	2
Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union.....	1
Federal Labor Unions.....	11
Longshoremen's Unions.....	7
Bricklayers' and Masons' Union.....	1
Plumbers' Union.....	1
Machinists' Unions.....	2
Agricultural Workers' Unions.....	23
Wrappers Selectors' Union.....	1
Retail Clerks' Unions.....	4
Shoemakers' Unions.....	2
Hodcarriers' Unions.....	2
Tailors' Unions.....	1
Bakers' and Confectionery Workers' Unions.....	2
Ditchers' Union.....	1
Total of local unions.....	96
Central Labor Unions.....	3
Joint Advisory Board of the Cigar Makers' Unions..	1
Executive Council of the State Federation.....	1
Labor Cooperatives and Corporations.....	1
Labor Temples owned by organized labor.....	11
Lots of land and other properties owned.....	2

The total membership affiliated with these bodies numbers 12,000.

Cooperative Corporations, Labor Temples and Lots of Land Owned by the Unions Affiliated to Our Free Federation of Labor.

Compania Editora de "Justicia," Inc. (The official publication):

Authorized capital.....	\$30,000.00
Capital paid.....	25,000.00

Labor Temples.

One owned by the International Association of Machinists of America under the custody of Local Union No. 778 of Santurce valued in the amount of.....	\$3,500.00
One owned by the local unions of Utuado valued at.....	500.00
One owned by the local unions of Mayaguez valued at.....	600.00
One owned by the local unions of Rio Grande valued at.....	1,000.00
One owned by Cigar Makers' Union No. 350 of Manati.....	700.00
One owned by the local unions of Caguas.....	800.00
One owned by Agricultural Laborers' Union No. 12006 of Vieques valued at.....	1,000.00
One owned by Agricultural Workers' Union No. 14811 of Fajardo valued at.....	450.00

Lots of land and other properties:

A lot of the Central Labor Union of Arecibo upon which to erect the Labor Temple there valued at.....	\$600.00
A lot of the Longshoremen's Union of Arecibo No. 598 valued at.....	700.00
Labor Temple of the Longshoremen's Unions No. 940 of San Juan.....	4,000.00
A house, lighters and other property of Stevedores' Union No. No. 1162 of Fajardo valued at.....	500.00
Labor Temple of Stevedores' Union No. 1060 of Arroyo.....	700.00
There are other properties which we have been unable to include in this report, the price and real value of which is being ascertained.	
The receipts and expenditures of the Executive Council of the State Federation for the years 1906 to 1923 have been as follows:	

	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenditures.</i>
1906.....	\$196.18	\$196.18
1907.....	312.24	312.24
1908.....	742.62	716.00
1910.....	8,035.64	7,444.27
1913.....	9,596.91	9,221.03
1915.....	2,374.37	2,097.10
1917.....	9,931.45	9,855.34
1920.....	9,114.41	9,013.76
1923.....	12,307.42	12,378.16

The Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico was organized July 14, 1898. It was affiliated to the American Federation of Labor October 14, 1901. It began to collect taxes as a State Federation from the different labor organizations subordinate to the different national and international unions after the third convention held at the city of Mayaguez from June 18 to the 25, 1905, wherein the first constitution of our Federation was adopted following the general lines and policies of the organized labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

Benefits Paid by the Different Organizations to their Members

This list represents the different kinds of benefits paid to their members by the local unions subordinate to the different national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor from 1905 to 1923.

The list follows:

Loans on traveling cards.....	\$57,924.25
Strike benefits.....	2,955,858.53
Sick benefits.....	347,097.38
Out of work benefits.....	71,171.26
Death benefits.....	57,622.20

Total paid in benefits.....	\$3,489,673.62
-----------------------------	----------------

Other expenses:

Hall rent.....	\$75,652.30
Officers' salaries.....	53,957.81
Stationery and postage.....	24,662.82
Label agitation.....	8,869.20
Tax to international unions and A. F. of L.....	251,400.00
Returned to international unions.....	5,496.44
Donations to other unions.....	93,088.55

Total.....	598,721.84
------------	------------

Grand total.....	\$4,088,395.46
------------------	----------------

Achievements of Organized Labor in Government Offices

The position of organized labor in public and official life is as follows:

Labor controls the following municipalities: Carolina, Rio Grande, Luquillo, Fajardo, Ceiba, Yabucoa, Guayama and Arroyo.

Labor has four members in the House of Representatives and one Senator.

One member in the Workmen's Relief Commission.

One member in the Homestead Commission.

Two members in the Mediation and Conciliation Commission.

One member in the Equalization and Revision Commission of taxes.

Two members in the Economic Commission of the Insular Legislature.

One "Observer" in the General Board of Elections.

Our Activities in Washington

For the first time in the history of Porto Rico an action was taken by the last Insular Legislature of the island which received the unanimous approval of all the political parties. A resolution (No. 2 of the Senate) was adopted by which a commission of the legislature composed of representatives of all the political parties should proceed to Washington to propose some liberal and fundamental changes in our organic act which now serves as the constitution of Porto Rico. Being a Senator of the Insular Legislature and a representative of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico, I accepted membership on the commission and went to Washington in January of this year with the other members of the commission, prompted by my desire to be helpful to the workers and the people in general of

Porto Rico and to be on the watch so that no treacherous action might be taken by the representatives of capital on the commission. I not only accepted the appointment to go with them to Washington to work together and jointly for the securing of a larger amount of self-government for the people of Porto Rico, but also secured for this legislative movement all the generous and disinterested cooperation and unequalled influence of the American Federation of Labor and very particularly so from its president, Mr. Samuel Gompers.

The bills introduced in Congress just above referred to, were the following: H. R. 4087, H. R. 6142, H. R. 6294, H. R. 6583, S. 2448, S. 2571, S. 2572 and S. 2573. All these bills were introduced at the sixty-eighth Congress and the main purpose of such bills was to "Amend the organic act of Porto Rico approved March 2, 1917," to "Extend the provisions of certain Federal laws to Porto Rico" and others. The American Federation of Labor was responsible to a very large extent for the hearings held on all these bills before the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate, the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, these hearings having been held on January 1, February 13, 14, 16, 19, 25 and 26 and March 7, 1924. The records of these hearings, which were printed, show the very important part taken by the American Federation of Labor representatives. By perusal of these records it may be easily found that while the majority of the Porto Rican legislative delegation devoted its time simply to the political situation of Porto Rico, to requesting the right to elect our own governor and to ask from Congress a larger amount of self-government for Porto Rico, the activities of the labor members in the delegation and of those officials of the American Federation in Washington backing our petitions, were also devoted, as in the past, to presenting real economic conditions, living and working conditions of the masses and to indicting as strongly as we ever did the money monopoly and combinations which are responsible for the unbearable economic conditions prevailing in the island. And since our political agreement to ask for more self-government did not commit me to silence on the real economic conditions of this island (because if it had I would not have accepted membership on the commission), I felt myself at liberty and in duty bound to present to the committees of Congress the real aims and aspirations of the working people of Porto Rico for a better living and better treatment.

I realize that my declarations did not please the other representatives in the legislative commission of the people of Porto Rico.

But to my surprise, the presidents of the republican and unionist parties who had kept themselves in contact with the money people of Wall Street and representatives of the sugar, tobacco, fruit and transportation trusts in New York, were not only in conference to betray the labor representatives but also to betray the whole people of this island.

In an effort to take my head off, after having been engaged in the organized labor movement for thirty years, the presidents of the unionist and republican parties wrote to President Gompers condemning me and

presenting me as a dynamiter. I believe it unnecessary at this time to state all they had to say in the joint letter to President Gompers. But I can't fail to mention the wonderful, thoughtful and timely reply of President Gompers to them. As soon as President Gompers drafted his reply to the presidents of the unionist and republican parties, the substance of his letter was transmitted by cable to Porto Rico by the United Press. It was published in all the newspapers of Porto Rico. It deserved the approval and admiration of all the people of Porto Rico, even of those supposed to belong to the groups headed by the presidents of the republican and unionist parties. All comments were favorable to President Gompers, because his reply was considered by all as a splendid display of sincerity, loyalty and undivided adherence to the cause of liberty and freedom and a reaffirmation once and for ever of the principles of mutual defense and solidarity as maintained by the American Federation of Labor and its president. The letter of President Gompers rendered Porto Rico a service which the working people of this island will never repay.

Labor Representation and Legislation Affecting Labor

As you know the independent labor vote reelected me to the Senate in the last general election, electing at the same time two carpenters, one printer and one cigar maker as members of the House of Representatives. Two regular sessions and two sessions of the legislature have been held during the period for which we were elected which expires with the end of this year. It is very gratifying to be able to report at this time that these labor representatives elected from among the rank and file of organized labor have done well and that they have kept themselves true to the cause and loyal to our movement, lending all the help they were able to lend in the advancement and uplifting of social, moral, economic and political conditions of the masses of workers and the people of Porto Rico in general. They have not only tried to introduce all those measures which are a part of the program of the American Federation of Labor, but at the same time they have kept themselves alive and on the watch for all the reactionary measures introduced by the lawyers of the corporations and big interests intended to protect big business to the detriment of the masses.

Very extraordinary efforts were put forth by the private insurance companies and a good number of corporations, during all the ordinary and special sessions of the legislature, to have amended the Workmen's Compensation Law, so as to do away with the "exclusive state fund" and give these companies the opportunity to do business and establish competition, but the strong action adopted by the labor representatives in the legislature was responsible for the defeat of such amendments.

Other bills were introduced to establish the so-called "waiting period" in our compensation law in order that no compensation might be paid when the person injured was incapacitated for seven days or less. The stand taken by our representatives was equally strong against such measures, and all of these measures were rejected.

This, too, may be listed among the reactionary measures defeated by labor.

A bill was drafted and introduced in the last special session of the legislature by the political combination of Tous-Soto and Barcelo, known as the "Alliance" to amend the electoral law so as to prevent the formation of new political parties, in order that they might have no new force to contend with. It provided originally that new political parties, to be accepted and registered by the executive secretary of Porto Rico by petition, had to submit to the secretary a 20 per cent in petitions, duly sworn to before the municipal judge of the total vote of the island cast in the last election. That meant that people having repudiated the action of their parties, or willing to cast an independent vote at the next coming election, would have had to have duly signed, identified and duly sworn to before the municipal judge (notary public not allowed to administer these oaths) more than 50,000 affidavits, with all law requisites, finger marks, color, age, state, city, etc., etc., etc. This was practically a prevention of the expression of the popular will and a gross denial of the franchise granted to our people by the Congress of the United States.

Our representatives did all they could to prevent the passage of this measure, but the steam roller was used by the political combination and the bill was adopted. However, the stand taken by our representatives was so vigorous and so just that they reduced the 20 per cent in the bill as originally introduced to 10 per cent.

This may be listed as a partial success of the labor representatives in view of the prevailing circumstances.

Some other legislation affecting labor, passed by the insular legislature is as follows:

No. 6. An act to amend section 17 of "An Act to create a Homestead Commission; to authorize the construction of houses for artisans and laborers with funds of the people of Porto Rico; provide for the leasing of same, with a right to the ownership thereof; to improve the condition of such lands of the people of Porto Rico as may be selected for the construction of said houses and for the formation of farms; promote the creation of farms to be leased to farm laborers and to grant them title thereto, and for other purposes, approved July 11, 1924—June 13, 1923."

No. 11. An act prescribing minimum wages to be paid the laborers and workingmen of Porto Rico in insular and municipal works—Approved June 30, 1923.

No. 12. An act to amend the title and section 1 of act No. 10, entitled "An act to determine the procedure in cases of claims for wages by farm laborers against their employers," approved November 14, 1917; to add section 1 thereto, define the words "worker" and "employee" used therein, and for other purposes.—Approved July 2, 1923.

No. 13. An act to regulate the operation and handling of cinematograph machines, and for other purposes—Approved July 3, 1923.

No. 25. An act to amend section 1 of act No. 46, entitled "An act to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the construction of scaffolds,

the protection of the public, and for other purposes, approved March 13, 1913,' approved December 1, 1917." July 7, 1923.

All the above numbered laws may very well be listed as a success of labor through the representatives of labor in the legislature and backed by the American Federation of Labor.

Our organized labor movement has also succeeded in getting, through our representatives in the legislature, all the increases which have been necessary in the appropriations for education, roads, sanitation, insular hospitals, sanatoriums and dispensaries of the government intended to take care of the people suffering from tuberculosis, hookworm and other diseases. Because of the strength of our organization we believe this to be a splendid record, taking into consideration the abnormal times we have had to confront.

Pan-American Federation Activities.

After the American Federation of Labor convention at Portland, Oregon, was over, I had the honor to accompany a delegation headed by President Gompers to be present and take part in the conferences held in El Paso and Juarez between the representatives of the Regional Federation of Mexico and of the American Federation of Labor. I had also the pleasure of attending several conferences held in New York and Washington with labor representatives of Venezuela and Colombia.

The history of the innumerable altruistic deeds of the American Federation of Labor and its continued efforts in the humanitarian purpose of establishing and maintaining the best possible relations between the peoples of Mexico, Central and South America, and the people of the United States, has never been written. The brilliant record of these activities will be found in the files of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, an institution that was created when its necessity was made evident by an epoch when the international relations of these great peoples were rapidly expanding.

The activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor since its creation in promoting closer relations and greater confidence and sympathy among the peoples of the Latin-American republics with the people of the United States are multiple and the benefits derived therefrom are immeasurable. The United States Government has taken no cognizance of the powerful instrumentality that the American Federation of Labor has been in the councils of the Pan-American Federation of Labor for the creation of good will and sincere friendship and for enhancing the reputation of the United States as a peace-loving nation. No other organization is so admirably equipped to inspire the confidence and gain the good will of our neighbor countries to the south as the American Federation of Labor through the medium of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The resentment and discredit for the United States cultivated among the Latin-American peoples by these Americans whose only regard is the pursuit of the "dollar" are in a great measure being offset by the influence, actions and decisions of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and through the medium of the frank exchange of views and impressions of the representative labor delegations that in the past few years have visited some of the Latin-American countries,

the most notable instance being the American Federation of Labor mission that visited Mexico in 1918 (when that country was combed by German propaganda). The three members of that mission, appointed by President Gompers, found the atmosphere in Mexico pregnant with the prejudice created by propagandists hostile to America, but after addressing themselves frankly to the object of their mission, they succeeded in gaining the sympathy and the confidence of the wage earners of Mexico, much to the chagrin of those who had put every obstacle in the way of the delegation.

When it has been made possible for a delegation of the American Federation of Labor to visit each and every country in the Western Hemisphere with the same purpose that President Gompers had in sending those labor missions to Mexico and Central America, the peoples of the countries so visited will be in a position to appraise at full value the work the Pan-American Federation of Labor is destined to accomplish in the Western Hemisphere, and, as a consequence, the reputation and the prestige of the United States as a justice-loving nation will be firmly established among those Latin-American peoples.

The Virgin Islands of the United States

Having been officially informed by Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor that charters had been granted to this last possession of the United States and that the American Federation of Labor wanted to be of every assistance to these people, and to strengthen the faith of the members in their organization and to extend the influence of organized labor there in the economic and industrial affairs of these islands, I have had to keep in close touch with the affairs of the Virgin Islands and in constant communication with the labor representatives there.

After my first visit to the Virgin Islands in compliance with instructions from the American Federation of Labor, I sent to our headquarters several reports on conditions prevailing there, and voicing the necessities, complaints and aspirations of these people. Due to our persistency and the great efforts put forth by the American Federation of Labor, President Coolidge felt himself inclined to send a commission to the Virgin Islands through the Department of Labor of the United States. This Federal Commission appointed by the president through the Department of Labor was composed of the Hon. George H. Woodson of Iowa, Cornelious R. Richardson of Indiana, Charles E. Mitchell of West Virginia, Jefferson S. Coage of Delaware and W. H. C. Brown of Virginia, and they were instructed by the secretary of the Department of Labor to investigate economic and industrial conditions in the islands, to ascertain the underlying causes of industrial depression, and to furnish the department with all the facts connected therein.

This commission left the harbor of New York City for the Virgin Islands January 17 of this year, arriving at the port of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands on the 23rd of the same month.

As soon as Secretary Morrison knew of the commission having been appointed and of the date on which they were sailing for the Virgin Islands

he cabled me instructions to proceed to the Virgin Islands to meet this commission there and be of every assistance to them in their mission.

Because of my inability to carry out Mr. Morrison's instructions for the reason that I was in New York as a part of the legislative commission to which I refer in the beginning of this report, I took up the matter with Organizer P. Rivera Martinez of the Cigar Makers' International Union, and requested him to immediately proceed to the Virgin Islands not only to meet the commission and assist them in their investigation work, but at the same time to assist the organized laborers of the Virgin Islands in their organization and in the presentation of their case to the commission.

The work done at the Virgin Islands by the American Federation of Labor representatives and the facts presented to the commission was so effective that the "Summary of findings and Recommendations" of the Federal Commission to the Virgin Islands in the report submitted by them to the Secretary of Labor on February 29, 1924, are practically the same summary of findings and recommendations made by our labor organizations of Porto Rico in the Virgin Islands through their representatives as may be seen by the following:

"Summary of Findings and Recommendation. Report of the Federal Commission Appointed by the Secretary of Labor to Investigate Industrial and Economic Conditions in the Virgin Islands, U. S. A., Pages 25 to 29."

Prohibition.—The Virgin Islands should receive the same liberal interpretation and administration of our prohibition laws that have been extended to the Philippine Islands and the Panama Canal, so as to permit the retention of liquor on board ships under seal and the transportation and transshipment of liquor cargoes through Virgin Islands ports.

Labor.—In order to stabilize wages, protect the native workers from harmful competition with alien laborers, and to generally assist in the relief of industrial depression it is recommended that the Department of Labor appoint for service on the Virgin Islands a commissioner of conciliation, who shall also enforce the Federal immigration laws.

Banking and currency.—Some means should be immediately found to replace the existing system of banking and currency by an American owned and operated banking institution.

Transportation and mail.—Assistance and encouragement should be given to additional transportation facilities between the islands, and from the islands to Porto Rico, and that the postmaster general's attention be called to the need for increased and extended mail facilities.

Manufacturers.—Attention of private enterprises should be called through the proper governmental agencies to the industrial possibilities: (a) Canning industry, fruits, etc.; (b) manufacture of furniture from mahogany and other native hardwood.

Miscellaneous.—It is recommended that attention be directed to the possibilities of St. Thomas and other ports of the islands as winter resorts and private enterprises be encouraged to develop them. The Federal Government might cooperate with the municipal government in the creation

of a fund, to be placed at the disposal of the municipal government, to aid the farmers in putting the island back in its former state of cultivation and to assist in the establishment of homesteads.

Water supply.—Enlarge the scope of the investigation of the Government survey for an increased supply of drinking water, to include the establishment of a system of irrigation for agricultural relief, in all the islands.

Experiment stations.—The experiment station at St. Thomas should be considerably enlarged, an experiment station established on the island of St. John, and the activities of the experiment station on St. Croix, which is already contributing so largely to the agricultural improvement of that island, further developed so as to encourage and direct the work on St. Thomas and St. John.

Schools.—The excellent work already being done by the local schools on the islands should be assisted by the addition of an agricultural, industrial and trades school, that the boys and girls of the islands may be trained in such industrial pursuits as will fit them for greater service. The present curriculum of the public schools should be extended so as to make it unnecessary for native children to leave home for the purposes of higher education. Many children are now obliged to attend high schools in adjacent islands of other nationalities.

Legal status.—A new organic act should be passed, so as to authorize the adoption of a new code of laws based upon American ideals and calculated to insure an administration and enforcement of the laws in keeping with American practices. Especially, the courts should be so reorganized that in this important connection the people will enjoy a feeling of confidence, and every man, however humble, be assured of "his day in court." The new organic act should provide for such reforms of the present legislative system that the municipal governments of the several islands may be more centralized and the amended whole brought into closer touch and harmony with the masses and be more largely responsive to their peculiar needs. The commission further believes that, in the revision of the judicial system of the islands, special attention should be given to the establishment of a court of appellate jurisdiction more accessible than the present tribunal (United States Circuit Court, third district, Philadelphia, Pa.)

Findings

1. *Location.*—Forty miles east of Porto Rico; 1,440 south of New York City; 1,025 northeast of Panama Canal. Area of 3 largest inhabited islands, 132 square miles. Population, 26,000 (negro, 24,100; white, 1,900); density, 200 per square mile.

2. *Education.*—Compulsory between 7 and 13. Attendance, average, 3,000, or over 98 per cent of possible attendance. Illiteracy less than 2 per cent. Language, English.

3. *Water supply* depends on rain fall caught in cisterns.

4. *General health* compares favorably with southern states. No epidemics. Birth rate, 32 per one thousand; death rate $25\frac{1}{2}$ per one thousand.

5. *Climatic conditions*, with a minimum of 65° and maximum 92° insure

low cost of living in way of clothing, housing, and food fact. Trade winds prevail.

6. Economic and industrial conditions are far from being satisfactory, as shown by the variation in the imports and exports between the islands and the United States. Fiscal year 1921; export, \$3,571,787; imports, \$4,162,949; total, \$7,734,736. Fiscal year 1922; exports, \$754,729; imports, \$1,836,567; total, \$2,591,296.

This marked loss of trade is largely due to (a) our general policy of treating the islands only as an outpost of defense for the Panama Canal; (b) Federal prohibition, which crippled the bay rum industry of the islands; (c) serious droughts which almost eliminated crops last three years; (d) St. Thomas, although one of the finest ports in the West Indies or the world, is no longer used as a port of call by the steamship lines using the Panama Canal and sailing to and from Atlantic ports of South America. This combination of conditions creates an appallingly large per cent of unemployment and already evidences of undernourishment are apparent.

7. *Leading industries.*—(a) sugar cane, 12,000 acres; (b) cotton, 2,000 acres; (c) grasses and fodder, 30,000 acres—cattle raising; (d) fishing; (e) coaling steamships—150 men, 300 women; (f) watering ships (when there is any water available).

8. *Wages.*—(a) agricultural, 20 to 40 cents a day; (b) fishing, nominal; (c) coaling vessels, 2 cents per basket; average, 60 cents a day, and only two days a week.

9. *Housing of workers.*—Largely one room shacks with an occasional lean to kitchen.

10. *Food of workers.*—Largely "fungee" (a mess of corn meal and fish).

11. *Cost of living.*—Owing to above-outlined conditions, is naturally very low, but unless something is done to improve the opportunity for work these people must migrate to avoid sinking to an economic level abhorrent to our American ideals.

12. Native population is clean, bright, genial, peaceful, intelligent; 98 per cent can read and write; honest and very polite. Very little crime, and that largely in the sea port towns.

One of the last recommendations of the Federal Commission and not less important is the following:

"The *citizen status* of the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands should be cleared up, as much confusion now prevails owing to the different interpretations of the following supposed guaranty quoted from the purchase treaty with Denmark, proclaimed January 25, 1917 (Sec. 6):

"Those who remain in the islands may preserve their citizenship in Denmark by making before a court of record, within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this convention, a declaration of their decision to preserve such citizenship; in default of which declaration they shall be held to have renounced it, and to have accepted citizenship in the United States.' "

These are practically the same demands as presented to the commission by our organizations at the Virgin Islands and they simply proved that our members there were right in their claims.

There is still much to do. The most important part of this question,

to see that all these recommendations are crystallized and converted into realities and facts, has yet to be done. The American Federation of Labor that so generously extended its helping hand to this people, has now to see to it that such recommendations be complied with, by Congress, by the different departments of the United States concerned, by the proper officials and by all those in authority in Washington who deal with this people, and we recommend this to you. It will be only when these recommendations, or a good portion of them, are complied with, that we will be in a position to have proper organizations formed to do some practical work for the people of the Virgin Islands.

In our opinion the people of the Virgin Islands should receive preferential and immediate attention from the Washington authorities.

In closing this part of my report I want to emphasize this, because conditions in the Virgin Islands have gone from bad to worse since the above recommendations of the Federal Commission were made. Only a few days ago the Virgin Islands were devastated by a terrible hurricane that swept all the islands, destroyed their little crops, houses and more than one hundred lives. Many people were injured, and considerable damage was caused. Conditions there on that account are unbearable. These people are in need of immediate relief.

Conclusion

In bringing this report to a close I want to direct your attention to the real economic general conditions of the island of Porto Rico so that you may be duly posted when the matter of our so many times mentioned progress is debated.

The last official reports show that Porto Rico's importations and exportations in the year 1901 reached approximately \$17,502,103; while during the fiscal year of 1923 they were \$154,237,555, showing evidently that the island has increased its business every year. The official statistics demonstrated that in the last 22 years there were \$945,606,949, for imports and \$1,170,567,445 for exports, giving a "superabit" in the said 22 years of over \$228,341,191, the difference between exportation and importation showing such balance which is supposed to be in favor of the people of the island.

Now, for the first time in many years the trade balance is against the island. External trade of the island for the year ending June 30 amounted to \$177,650,164, according to reports of the collector of customs and the Department of Commerce, completed three weeks ago. This marks a gain of \$23,412,609 over the island's trade of last year, which totaled \$154,237,555.

For the first time in many years imports exceeded exports, leaving a trade balance of \$1,089,084 against the island. This simply accentuates a tendency which is very alarming and destroys a fictitious story of prosperity for which the people will have to pay.

A general campaign of organization is being conducted at this time throughout the island so as to prevent labor activities from being absorbed by politics. This campaign is much more active among the cigar makers who are gradually reconstructing their movement and gaining in membership by the action conducted by the Joint Advisory Board of the Cigar-makers' Unions under the leadership of Organizer Rivera Martinez. All the other trades are also moving on the same line of organization business.

Labor Day was generally and splendidly observed by all the local unions in the different towns of Porto Rico and big parades and meetings were held on this day in more than 20 cities.

With best wishes for success to you and the convention, I beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

SANTIAGO IGLESIAS,

Gen. Org. American Federation of Labor.

Heading West

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

WHOEVER is fortunate enough to behold the countryside in these autumn days finds it all a gorgeous stage setting for the most tempting and withal the most capricious season of them all.

There is no season as once so seductive, so daring, so fickle, so utterly untamed and violent as the autumn. There is about autumn the softness, the delicacy, the gentle warmth of innocent young love. There is the bold artifice of the courtesan and the sweet, gentle air of fulfillment that bespeaks age content with achievement. Autumn is that way and largely life is that way. Age is age, but age can not resist the temptation to leap back through the span to the ways of youth.

Go thou to the woods and to the fields and revel in the splendor of nature's most wonderful array. Man knows not yet how to use colors so superlatively gay in such happy and pleasing combinations. It is in truth but a poor and bedraggled soul that is not lifted and inspired and at least a bit ennobled in the presence of this great autumnal carnival of nature.

The year goes onward in its heady fashion, bound for the cold blasts and the deep drifts of dispassionate winter. So be it. And meanwhile let us continue Heading West.

* * *

A Portentious Verdict Impends, to Wit:

THE welkin—try and find it—rings with hokum; never mind it; and aspersions grow on every little tree. A chap keeps yellin' "Helen"—least that's how they're spellin' the crescendo of his dynamitic spree. And the careful, cautious Cal gives the world a whispered "wal," reassuring all and sundry brave and free.

The Davis polished diction, as ebullient as fiction, flows along like some complacent River Dee, while Bryan of Nebraska, as chilly as Alaska, shows how self obliterating man can be. Afraid of Bob La Follette, the plutocratic wallet quacks a doleful, dismal note of prophesy. So folks are all excited, some even quite affrighted; what relief for all election night will be!

There's palaver everywhere, in the halls and "on the air" and but precious little sense in all of it. But the final peroration of this devilish collation hastens onward as is mete and fit. Say you what's it all about? We relapse from rhyme to shout: It's to decide whose shoes will be under the White House bed next year!

A Grand Jury, More or Less, Boots But Little

THREE grand juries in Washington, D. C., have considered the case of Albert B. Fall and each in its turn has quit and gone home without voting an indictment.

This news may have been discovered by those painstaking persons who read the smaller and more inconspicuous items in the daily newspapers.

Those who read as they run would never have detected the tiny headlines announcing this ponderous triple play in the mills of justice—a triple play scoring for Mr. Fall but netting the machinery of the law nothing more sustaining than a mean and meager zero.

It has been variously predicted that nothing untoward would ever happen to Albert B. Fall. And maybe these prophets were right about it. Maybe nothing will happen to Mr. Fall, or to anybody else who helped the government get rid of its vast naval oil reserves. Maybe when these gentlemen thought that was the kind of a country this is they were right. Maybe that is the kind of a country it is.

But, somehow a lingering doubt persists.

Out of Sound and Fury, Reason At Last Emerges

A GREAT deal of sound and fury has come to us over the cables from J. Walton Newbold, member of the British parliament, elected as a Communist.

Mr. Newbold has suffered a relapse and is no longer a member of that party. He has resigned and he tells why.

"It is melodrama, not Marxism," he says, "to be preparing for a revolution and mouth-ing its however picturesque phrases when the moment has passed by during which it is possible to act." He adds that "there will be no revolution in Europe for many a long year."

Mr. Newbold seems to have recognized at last the foolishness and impossibility of the whole Communist game, though he does seem still to cling to his Marx.

In the defection of Newbold, Moscow loses a shining leader of its more or less phantom legions. He has been put forward repeatedly by Moscow as the red spokesman in England. Now he has "tumbled to the game" and pronounced it a fraud.

So goes the world. Emotion now and then, as the skein of history is unwound, thrusts reason aside for a time. But reason is forever reasserting herself and bringing the ship of Progress, as well as the ship of State, back to a normal course.

Mr. Newbold's blatancy in behalf of Communism was a symptom; so also is his repudiation of that corrosive doctrine.

* * *

Wall Street's Maw Closes on Mere Industry

HERE is news, mates. It was dug from way back in the financial pages of the newspapers where a lot of big news is printed and overlooked by all except those who hunt up significant stuff.

One day's issue brings these two reports: The L. C. Smith Brothers Typewriter Company has been sold to New York financial interests for \$5,000,000, and R. H. Hoe & Co. has gone the same route.

It looks as high financial exploitation of these two modern necessities would come next on the program. Already it is announced that a stock sale in the Hoe firm is planned.

We have in prospect a grand old combination of production of a necessity

primarily for profit. Wall Street exploitation may be expected—and that is what Labor objects to. What Labor demands is production primarily for use, with fair and legitimate profit resulting from the best possible production and management methods.

It would be much more cheering to read that these great concerns had come under the management of the best technicians in the country than it is to read that they have gone under Wall Street control. But so goes the world.

* * *

To This Hath Our Brave Josephus Come!

IT IS with more than a tinge of regret that friends of Josephus Daniels will have read that he planned to take the stump for John W. Davis.

Of course it's old news by now, but then so is Waterloo, which even yet is a frequent subject for conversation and comment.

Josephus Daniels was the defender par excellence of the naval oil reserves. He stood forth giving battle to all comers. He saved the navy's oil until the political fates sent him back to his newspaper desk.

Then came Denby and Fall, with what grotesque results the world knows in part.

But John W. Davis also was a character in the great game. At least we incline so to believe.

Mr. Davis boasted that he was attorney for Standard Oil. Davis, no doubt, sat in when important policies were decided at 26 Broadway. The world knows that Sinclair got Teapot Dome and that Doheny got Elk Hills. But it is probably not so thoroughly aware of the fact that Standard Oil, through a subsidiary, got section 36 of the California reserve in fee simple. Section 36 is the richest prize of the layout. It was turned over to Standard Oil on June 8, 1921, and in due time brought in one of the biggest gushers on the continent.

If Mr. Davis was attorney for Standard Oil isn't it reasonable to suppose that Mr. Davis sat in when Standard Oil policy toward the naval oil reserves was decided upon?

Many friends of Mr. Daniels will regret that he found it necessary to support Mr. Davis. It was Senator La Follette who opened the fight in the senate to save the oil resources for which Mr. Daniels, as Secretary of the Navy, had so ably fought.

WHAT OUR ORGANIZERS ARE DOING

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC

FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

National Federation of Federal Employees

James P. McKeon.—We have 297 local unions, and a total membership of 22,553. Two locals have been added during the month and 485 members have been lost. The two new locals were in Nebraska and North Carolina. Amendments to Classification Act and Retirement Law have been in contemplation.

Order of Sleeping Car Conductors

W. O. Murphy.—The total membership of our 39 local unions is 2,300. There has been one death with an expenditure of \$1,000. Employment is at a standstill at the present time.

Laundry Workers' International Union

Harry L. Morrison.—We have 70 local unions with a decrease of 2 during the month. Our membership is 5,461, having gained 39 new members and lost 73. Conditions are fair and not improving. No union agreements were signed this month. Our local union at Brockton, Mass., brought before the State Board of Arbitration a proposition to install the five-day week in the laundries of Brockton. No decision has been made yet. Our general president has signed union agreements with two laundries in Oakland, Calif., and is now carrying on a campaign against the other 22 non-union laundries in Oakland.

International Molders' Union of North America

Victor Kleiber.—We have 420 local unions and a total membership of 30,021. There has been a decrease of two locals during the month. On account of strikes 194 union members were affected.

United Wall Paper Crafts of North America

Edwin Gentzler.—We have 12 local unions and 763 members. There has been two deaths with an expenditure of \$600 therefor. We are working under three-year agreements, therefore there is no change in working conditions. The state of employment is good in printing and color mixing branches, but very bad in print cutting branch. We are campaigning to establish the general use of the union label on wall paper manufactured in the union shops. During the past month the Sears Roebuck Company has started to use the label on all wall paper manufactured in their plant.

Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union

A. D. Yoder.—We have a total membership of 8,000 in our 250 local unions. Four local unions

have been lost during the month. There has been seven deaths with an expenditure of \$1,450 therefor. The state of employment remains the same.

FROM DISTRICT, STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZERS

ALABAMA

Birmingham.—Ralph A. Root:

Several small steel plants have cut wages from five to fifteen per cent. Two cement plants have opened up. Labor conditions remain about the same as they were a year ago. Constant agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

Mobile.—Charles H. Franck:

The railroad shops have re-employed about 100 men. The shipyards and tile factory have laid off workers and the lumber yard and sash-door plant have closed down. Some building construction is going on. The L. and N. railroad has a "company" union. The carpenters are increasing their membership through active personal organizing. Other trades could be doing likewise with cooperation of their international officers. The Central Trades Council is working actively to promote the demand for union label goods, and are sending out literature especially on anti-convict made goods.

ARIZONA

Globe.—L. B. Doane:

Mining is the chief industry here. Arizona is flooded with idle men. Eastern papers are advertising that thousands of men are needed in the mines here and on the San Carlo Dam, but such is not the case. Work on the dam has not yet started. It is claimed that this advertising is put out at this time to cause the workers to travel and loose their vote. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods. Merchants are being persuaded to carry these goods. All unions are taking in new members.

Lowell.—Philip J. Donahue:

Conditions are much the same here. The Phelps-Dodge Corporation has a company union. Active work is being carried on to increase the demand for union labels.

CALIFORNIA

Graveland.—James G. Gainsboro.

Work is very slack in this community. Both mining and lumber camps have laid off workers. Great work is being done here for the La Follette ticket. He will carry this section by a large majority. Good work is constantly being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

THE babies of today—are the men and women of tomorrow. Their ruggedness and healthfulness depend largely upon the food they receive during the first two years of infancy.

Nestlé's Milk Food supplies to babies deprived of mother's milk, the same amount of nourishment and tissue building qualities as breast milk.

Throughout the world, Nestlé's Milk Food is the recognized standard food for infants and invalids. All conscientious druggists carry it.

Sample and 72-page Mother Book, mailed FREE. Write today, while you think of it.

Nestlé's Food Co., 130 William Street, New York.

Nestlé's Milk Food

Long Beach.—T. H. Norris:

The consolidation of the *Daily Telegram* with the *Daily Press* has resulted in throwing out of employment over 200 people, including allied printing trades workers, office help, auxiliary help and carriers. Construction work of the Municipal Gas Department has been practically suspended. At the present time the building trades have the biggest opportunity for work, but even they fall far short of being able to take care of all the idle men in that industry. There is some dredging in the harbor development. Financial and business depression are still prevalent. There has been no development work in the Long Beach Signal Hill oil field. The canneries are evading the California Women's Minimum Wage Law by placing women and girls on a piece-work basis. Educational work is being carried on by a committee appointed by the Central Labor Council.

COLORADO

Denver.—Earl R. Hoage:

The printing trades have raised wages in all union commercial offices as a result of negotiations with master printers. A number of workers have been laid off by the city in the parks. Coal mines are hiring men, but there is no shortage of coal miners. The building trades are in a splendid condition and are all at work. They all have union agreements. Over one million dollars in building permits were issued during August. Our Labor Day parade and celebration was a huge success with over 45,000 people attending picnic and 10,000 marching

in parade. The Union Label League is active holding mass meetings for the union label, house card and button. The cigarmakers are distributing some very attractive advertising boosting their union label. The Cuban Cigar Company has hired additional cigarmakers. City employes are increasing their membership at the rate of 50 per meeting. The butcher workmen are putting on a membership drive and hope to get a local of packing house workers soon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington.—Wade Shurtleff:

During the past month express workers have organized at Akron, Ohio, and clerks at Muncie, Ind., and Chicago, Ill.

FLORIDA

Orlando.—W. E. Crawford:

All establishments here have laid off some workers. The Western Union has a "company" union. A larger number of workers are coming here than there are jobs to be filled.

Tallahassee.—T. J. Appleyard:

The T. J. Appleyard Printing and Publishing company claims to have the most sanitary printing plant in America. They have a new fireproof building with monitors and skylights, ventilators and industrial floors, easy on the workmen's feet. The wage scale has been increased about 10 per cent. There are an average of 30 employed in this plant with no lay-offs during the year. This plant has

never been closed down. The printing industry here has union agreements. Several millions of pieces of printing for the State of Florida goes out each year from this plant.

Tampa.—A. B. Grout:

Work in the building trades is fair, but the shop crafts are very dull. The metal shops have laid off employees. Some agitation is carried on to increase the demand for union label goods. During the past month the structural iron workers affiliated with the central trade union, and the plasterers and musicians have organized.

ILLINOIS

Chicago.—Mary Haney:

During the past month Local No. 10, International Union of Building Service Employees, has been organized. These are employees of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

Duquoin.—H. R. Parsons:

Additional work has opened up here. More workers have been hired on street construction jobs. Auto mechanics are on strike here, but it is expected it will end satisfactorily. Union members and their families are constantly calling for union-made goods and fair results are being achieved.

Eldorado.—John A. Cooley:

Catering workers have been laid off. Street construction gives employment to some laborers. Splendid results are being achieved from label agitation. The writer is visiting each local asking that they appoint a label committee of three from their respective locals to carry on this work.

Litchfield.—Henry D. Felix:

The Brown Shoe Company is now working full time. Considerable agitation is being carried on in this city in behalf of La Follette. Good work is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

Staunton.—Joseph W. Rizzie:

Two large mines are closed down and others are not working steady. Six hundred workers are affected. Conditions in this section are not very encouraging, owing to the closing of the mines and the numbers of people out of work. Good work is being carried on by the label committee of the trades council in the way of agitating for union label goods.

INDIANA

Elkhart.—Ralph J. Barrett:

The New York Central shops have hired additional men. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

Elkhart.—C. L. Miner:

All men laid off from railroad shops have been re-employed. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods and good results are being achieved.

South Bend.—Harry Lewis:

The building industry which is fairly well organized is the only industry which kept this city from starving until very recently. The Studebaker Automobile Corporation has been completely closed down until recently. The city was nearly panic-stricken for a short time. The writer took advantage of this situation and talked unionism



The original and genuine naptha soap
in the red-and-green wrapper

Dull tools or sharp tools

Which would you rather use—dull tools that take more of your effort and do ordinary work, or keen-cutters that do an easy, clean-cut job?

If there is only one answer to this question, why shouldn't your wife also have things to work with at home that make work easier?

For instance: For washing and cleaning, Fels-Naptha has *extra* washing value. It isn't just soap. It is splendid soap and *naptha* working together. And they do a clean, safe job—and do it easier. An extra washing value that your wife can not get in any other form!

Give her as good tools to work with as you like to use yourself—take home a golden bar of Fels-Naptha tonight, and watch her smile. Enjoy the extra cleanliness of the clothes she washes with Fels-Naptha!

FELS-NAPTHA

THE GOLDEN BAR WITH THE CLEAN NAPTHA ODOR

Keystone Roofing Manufacturing Company

Asphalt Roofings - Shingles - Waterproof Products

York, Pennsylvania

to the business men individually with the result that a great many of them withdrew from the Chamber of Commerce. The president of the Studebaker Company was forced to resign and since then numbers of former employes have been re-employed. There are now 7,000 employed with a cut in wages in every department. The capacity of this plant is 1,200. However, they are working 10 and 11 hours per day to make \$6 per day wages. When this factory is down everything else is, and a contemplated closing for one month is set for November or December.

IOWA

Cedar Rapids.—R. G. Stewart:

Conditions remain the same here. The packing plants and cereal industries have hired additional workers. Building operations are gaining. Skilled crafts only have union agreements. The railroad shops of the R. I. Railroad have a "company" union. The usual activities of the label committees are being carried on. The political campaign is the chief topic of discussion to the exclusion of other matters important to union labor.

Des Moines.—W. B. Hammil:

The bookbinders' local union has signed new wage agreements with the Homestead and Successful Farmer Printing Company. About 75 men have been laid off from the track department of the city railway. The Ford Motor Company is putting on a few additional men, but are operating below normal. The label committee of the central body are constantly agitating for the increased demand of union label goods.

Dubuque.—John T. Quinn:

Workers have been re-employed at the C. M. & St. L. shops and also at the Brunswick Balke Phonograph Works. Every union is boosting La Follette. Constant agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

KANSAS

Arkansas City.—Ed. E. Rock:

There is a small reduction in forces in all classes of employment. Railroad workers have a "company" union and are working on a five-day basis. Work is very scarce, and living is higher here than in surrounding cities. Maintenance of Ways has reorganized and are doing nicely with a good membership.

KENTUCKY

Central City.—Otto Anderson:

Conditions and wages are bad. Four stores have closed down and two have gone into bankruptcy. Some street construction is being carried on, but negroes from the south are employed on this. The

State Corporation has laid off 300 men, and 200 employes of the Illinois Central have been laid off, although 300 or 400 negroes have been put on section work of the Illinois Central. The coal miners have been on strike since April 15, 1,000 miners being affected. The coal operators have done everything possible to break up the unions, but the miners are standing pat, and will continue to strike until next year before they will take a reduction in wages. Both the Illinois Central Railroad shop crafts and the employes of the Cumberland Telephone Company have "company" unions. All union men demand that purchases bear the union label.

MAINE

Woodland.—Frank D. Johnson:

All the labor unions of Woodland enjoyed a large program on Labor Day.

MASSACHUSETTS

Quincy.—James F. Edwards:

There have been improvements in conditions in the building trades, the scale factory, and in the Boston Gear Works. They are all working full time, and about 30 additional workers have been hired at the gear works and 50 or more at the scale factory. The Fall River Ship Company have a "company" union and work on the open-shop basis. Constant demand is made for union label goods.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul.—Frank Fisher:

Conditions are at a standstill here. No buildings are being constructed and there are 10 men for every job.

NEBRASKA

Omaha.—Gus Lawson:

Work is slack here in all lines. An estimate made from the Central Labor Union shows that between 5,000 and 10,000 men and women are out of employment in this city. The employment agencies are swamped with laborers and any amount of unemployed women. There has been no new local organized, but what is needed is reorganization of those now struggling along.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque.—Neal Culley:

The biggest and best Labor Day parade and picnic ever held in this city was held this year. All organizations were represented except the printers. There seems to be a better feeling throughout the entire state among the rank and file than ever existed before. Business conditions are better in the southern part of the state on account of the oil

fields. There is also a rush in the building trades on the construction of small houses.

NEW YORK

Corning.—Charles E. O'linger:

The glass works and railroad shops have laid off about 300 workers. A fiber box factory has opened up. All union members constantly demand label goods.

NORTH DAKOTA

Minot.—H. E. McFall:

Additional workers have been hired in the following trades: Ten in the creameries, 25 by the railroads, and 10 in garages. Road construction is being carried on and the customary threshing at this time of year provides additional employment. The G. N. Railroad has a "company" union. Union men are constantly demanding union label goods.

OHIO

Chillicothe.—Henry E. Oberting:

The Horton Pottery is working half-time. The car repair department of the B. & O. Railroad has hired additional workers. The union label committee is doing very excellent work here.

Elyria.—Charles H. Kopp:

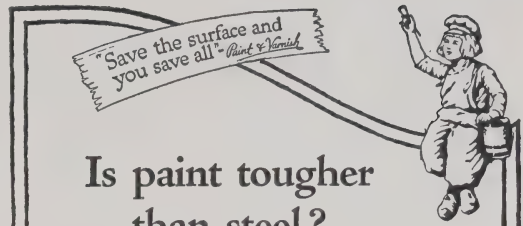
The Western Automatic plant is now working full time. The writer has called on the barbers, painters, and street car employees' local unions soliciting funds for the A. F. of L. non-partisan campaign committee fund.

Hamilton.—Stanley Ogg:

Foundries and machine shops have laid off workers. The central body is agitating to increase the demand for union label goods. The grocery clerks have been organized and received their charter.

Lorain.—Howard J. Cobb:

All establishments in the city have laid off workers, and a large number are on short hours and short weeks due to forced unemployment. The tornado that struck Lorain June 28 proved a test for the trade unions of the city, the outcome of which was a vindication of their policy and spirit. The militia began an effort to enforce a "work or fight" policy in cleaning up the wreckage. News of the tornado brought a herd of scabs to Lorain. The result of the "work or fight" edict was a "bull-pen" full of scabs. When scab workers sought to enter the building trades the union men refused to work with them. Realizing, however, that an emergency existed the unions met and decided to permit a straight 10-hour day temporarily. The fair contractors attended the meeting and agreed to the policy adopted. This rule applied only on reconstruction work. The result was that within two weeks almost every man was back on the 8-hour day basis and the "open shoppers" of Cleveland, who had backed the scabs and who had hoped to break down collective bargaining in Lorain, were beaten. The union helped the reconstruction work by establishing an employment office in union headquarters. Through this agency many out-of-town mechanics were given emergency work. The con-



Is paint tougher than steel?

The hardest iron and steel crumble with rust unless red-lead protects the surface. Put Dutch Boy red-lead on guard against rust destruction. It forms a tough film through which the elements cannot penetrate.

Dutch Boy red-lead withstands constant exposure in all kinds of weather. It sticks fast to metal and does not chip or scale.

Dutch Boy red-lead comes in paste form for mixing with linseed oil.

NATIONAL LEAD COMPANY

New York, 111 Broadway; Boston, 131 State St.; Buffalo, 116 Oak St.; Chicago, 900 West 18th St.; Cincinnati, 650 Freeman Ave.; Cleveland, 820 West Superior Ave.; St. Louis, 722 Chestnut St.; San Francisco, 485 California St.; Pittsburgh, National Lead & Oil Co. of Pa., 316 Fourth Ave.; Philadelphia, John T. Lewis & Bros. Co., 437 Chestnut St.

tractors and supply houses did their best during the emergency and the continuance of contractual relations is in large part due to their fine spirit and helpfulness. Contractors freely say that the attitude of the unions during the emergency gained many friends for the organization. One contractor said: "The cooperation of the union men in Lorain after the disaster was a thing that the contractors will never forget and will be taken into consideration when it is time to sign up again next spring."

OKLAHOMA

Hartshorne.—E. C. Robertson:

Conditions are very bad here at present. The open shop is gaining ground in this field. All of the union mines have laid off workers, and some of them have closed down.

Henryetta.—Lewis M. Kelley:

The laundry workers have signed a new contract for 14 months. They have added a new paragraph to this contract wherein seniority prevails, protecting the old employees. Workers have been laid off in the oil fields. Some coal mines are opening up, but there are two men for every job. The label committee from the central body is active in agitating for the use of union label goods.

Pawhuska.—Orten Taylor:

General building is the chief industry here. Some remodeling is being done and old buildings are being painted. The carpenters' union is building a labor temple for their own use.

INSIST on WAN-ETA Chocolate Bars and WAN-ETA Cocoa.
Made Under the Most Sanitary Conditions.

MASSACHUSETTS CHOCOLATE COMPANY
BOSTON, MASS.



Save ~~40¢~~ **Green Stamps** and you
Save Money! Thousands of home
 makers will tell you this is true.

The Sperry & Hutchinson Co.
 New York City

PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown.—Dan M. Gayton:

The plumbers are striking against the Sager Plumbing Company and all building trades men have left all jobs in process for the Sager Company. Coal mines are opening up, employing additional men. Almost all other industries have laid off helpers. In the building trades a few new buildings are being erected and a concrete bridge is being constructed. The Bethlehem Steel Company and and Richardson Railroad have a "company" union and the shoe workers have a "beneficial workers union." Local papers here do not print any union news and one would not know from these papers that La Follette or Wheeler were in the race. The writer has just succeeded in organizing the B. E. Schreiter & Sons tailor shop. This is the largest tailor establishment in this district and the only one carrying the United Garment Workers label in all clothing.

Altoona.—I. M. Crossman:

The Pennsylvania Railroad shops are working about half time. It is stated they have plenty of work, but are not doing it, giving many reasons for their attitude.

Philadelphia.—Wm. J. Boyle:

Several of the building trades unions have increased their wages without strike. Workers have been laid off in the textile, shipbuilding, and locomotive industries. One or two breweries have closed down. New construction work has begun on the new Delaware River bridge. The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company has a "company" union of conductors and motormen. A fair demand is always made for union label goods. During the past month an elevator operators' and starters' union has been organized.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia.—Marion C. White:

The chief work being carried on here at the present

time is in the building trades. The writer is constantly trying to increase the demand for union label goods. The Chauffeurs' Local No. 616 of jitney drivers has been organized with about 85 members.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Huron.—E. L. Gordon:

There has been a slight increase in wages among common laborers, but no change in hours or working conditions. The railroads have re-employed some of their former workers. Considerable new work has opened up in the building trades. Agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

TENNESSEE

Jackson.—W. L. Diffie:

The Piggly-Wiggly Manufacturing Company has increased their forces, but there has been no increase in wages. They work 8 hours and have a closed shop. There are no "company" unions here. A La Follette Club has been organized and much interest is being manifested. Organized labor constantly demands union label goods.

TEXAS

Orange.—E. L. Spagh:

Carpenters received \$1 per day increase in wages and a 44-hour week; electricians received a 50-cents a day increase, making \$6.75 for linemen and \$8 for inside men. The construction of a new post office opens up additional work for the building trades. Constant agitation is being carried on to increase the demand for union label goods.

Waco.—John R. Spencer:

Conditions here remain the same. The Miller Cotton Mill, a sash and door factory, and the M. K. and T. railroad shops are the chief industries. Employees of M. K. and T. shops are organized in a "company" union. The Waco Labor Temple Association purchased a \$9,075 lot and is planning to erect a labor temple at an early date. Several thousand people were gathered in Cameron Park on Labor Day in observance of the holiday.

WYOMING

Lander.—William J. McMahon:

The writer caused a dry goods store to cease working their girl clerks 56 hours a week and abide by the state law which is 52 hours. The U. S. Reclamation Service has hired about 150 men, both skilled workers and laborers. The Home Stake Mining Company are beginning developments at South Pass. The farmers and worker have organized a "La Follette for President" Club, and we will carrying Wyoming for La Follette. A constant demand is made for union label goods. Each month finds more label goods in the stores.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Warning to Advertisers!

Protect yourself from being defrauded. Read the following Report of the Executive Council and action of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Scranton, Pa., on December 14, 1901, in reference to DECEPTIVE PUBLICATIONS:



A NUMBER of souvenir books have been published in which the name of the American Federation of Labor has been used without authority or sanction of any kind from either the American Federation of Labor or its officers. The good name of our movement is thereby impaired, the interests of our fellow-workers injured, and fair-minded business men imposed upon and deceived. During the year we have endeavored to impress upon all that the only publication in which advertisements are received is our official monthly magazine, the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*; and we have also endeavored to influence a more straightforward course by those who have transgressed in the direction indicated. In this particular we have not been as successful as we should be pleased to be enabled to report to you. However, we are more concerned with the future than the past; and in order to be helpful in eliminating this cause of grievous complaint, we make the following recommendations:

FIRST—That we shall insist that no body of organized labor, nor shall any person issue a souvenir book claiming that such book or any other publication is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

SECOND—That any city chosen by a convention of the American Federation of Labor to hold the convention following shall not directly or indirectly through its Central Labor Union or otherwise issue a souvenir book claiming that such book is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

THIRD—That in the event of any such souvenir book being projected or about to be issued, directly or indirectly, by the Central Labor body in the city in which the convention was selected to be held, in violation of the letter and spirit of these recommendations, the Executive Council may change the city in which the convention is to be held to the one which received the next highest number of votes for that honor.

FOURTH—That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prosecute any person or persons in the courts who shall in any way issue souvenir books, directories, or other publications in which the name of the American Federation of Labor is used as publisher, owner or beneficiary.

FIFTH—That it be again emphasized that the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST* is the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, and is the only publication in which advertisements are received.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, A. F. OF L.

Report of Committee to Convention on the Above Report.

Perhaps there has been no more prolific source of dishonesty perpetrated in the name of organized labor than that involved in the publication of souvenir books. Unscrupulous projectors have victimized merchants and other friends of the movement in a most shameful fashion, and your committee heartily agrees with the strictures of the Executive Council upon the subject. We emphatically agree with the suggestions offered as a remedy and recommend their adoption. As an additional means to this end we would recommend that there be published in a conspicuous place in each issue of the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST* a notice to the effect that the *American Federation of Labor* is not sponsor nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Adopted by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, December 14, 1901.





EMPIRE

Empire Petroleum Products

GASOLINE

NAPHTHA

KEROSENE

GAS OIL

FUEL OIL

ROAD OIL

ABSORPTION OIL

NEUTRAL OILS

RED OIL

CYLINDER STOCKS

PARAFFIN OILS

PARAFFIN WAX

Write for Prices

EMPIRE REFINERIES, Inc.

SUBSIDIARY CITIES SERVICE COMPANY

GENERAL SALES OFFICE — TULSA, OKLA.

The New "Sun" Engine!

Arrangements have been made with Wm. Doxford & Sons, Ltd., Sunderland, England, for the development, plans and patents they have covering Doxford engines. The Doxford plans and patents together with the Junker patents will be used by the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company for the manufacture of Doxford engines in America.

Motorships "Yngaren" and "Dominion" with Doxford engines are giving very finest results in durability, continuous running, and remarkable fuel economy.

SUN SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK CO.

Chester, Penna.

New York Office
Philadelphia Office

25 Broadway
Finance Building

A Financial Gibraltar

IN the National Capital is located a financial institution whose large resources and conservative management have made it a veritable GIBRALTAR of finance, dedicated to the highest principles of American banking.

*It Solicits Your Account,
Large or Small.*

The Washington Loan & Trust Co.

Resources Over \$14,000,000.00

Downtown Bank, 900 F Street

West End Branch, 618 17th Street

JOHN B. LARNER :: :: :: PRESIDENT

SINCLAIR OILS

SINCLAIR REFINING COMPANY

CHICAGO **NEW YORK**



THE man who uses an Underwood Portable soon discovers that though he may dread to write, he likes to typewrite. It is a real pleasure to see the words appear on paper almost as fast as you think them. Typewriting on the Underwood Portable is just a flowing, effortless, almost automatic recording of your thoughts in sharp, clear legible form.

Price, \$50 in the U. S. A.

Weight, uncased, 6¾ lbs.; in traveling case, 9¾ lbs

The Portable is obtainable at Underwood offices in all principal cities, or direct by mail.

Underwood Typewriter Co., Inc.
Underwood Building, N. Y.



**UNDERWOOD
PORTABLE**



CLOSELY identified with the progress of travel in all its forms, we have for over eighty years, step by step, applied our experience and knowledge to the upbuilding of a remarkable service to travelers.

Independent Travel

Escorted Tours

Travelers' Cheques

Cruises

**Steamship Passages to All Parts of the
World, by All Lines**

Foreign Exchange—Insurance

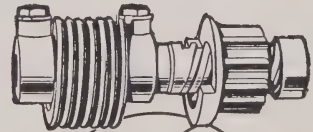
150 OFFICES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

THOS. COOK & SON

NEW YORK

585 Fifth Avenue 253 Broadway

**Boston Philadelphia Chicago San Francisco
Los Angeles Toronto Montreal Vancouver**



The
**BENDIX
DRIVE**

*'The Mechanical Hand
That Cranks Your Car'*

MADE BY THE

Eclipse Machine Co.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

J. Baumgarten & Sons Company



RUBBER STAMPS

SEALS FOR UNIONS AND SOCIETIES

Union Label Presses Supplied

1005 E Street N. W.
Washington D. C.

SHIP via CUNARD

There is no better way!

Between
NEW YORK BOSTON BALTIMORE
PHILADELPHIA MONTREAL QUEBEC
and
LIVERPOOL LONDON SOUTHAMPTON
GLASGOW HAMBURG LEVANT
MEDITERRANEAN PORTS

THROUGH BILLS OF LADING issued to all parts of Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Russia, Egypt, Red Sea Ports, Persian Gulf Ports, Mediterranean Ports, India, Etc.

NEW WEST BOUND SERVICE, Calcutta and Colombo to Boston, New York and Philadelphia via Brocklebank's Cunard.



CUNARD

and

ANCHOR

STEAM SHIP LINES

25 Broadway New York
Tel.—Bowling Green 5300

Strictly Union Made

and with the quality that brings you
back for another pack

Made in the factory of the

AXTON-FISHER TOBACCO CO.

Incorporated

Louisville, Ky.



which, for 23 years
in business, has em-
ployed union labor
only and never had
a strike



Westchester County

Good Good Good
Homes Schools Roads

Good Transportation

To and From

New York City

Via the

New York, Westchester & Boston Railway

LOW FARES

A Train Every Twenty Minutes
to Get You to the Job

Botany Worsted Mills

Passaic, New Jersey

New York Offices:

200 Fifth Avenue, New York



BUY U. S. TREASURY
SAVINGS CERTIFICATES



Labor's Record Complete!

Every fact about the American labor movement, from the beginning to the present,
is ready for you in the official

History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book

GREATEST LABOR RECORD EVER PUBLISHED.

This book contains 520,000 words. It contains the complete record of Labor's official action on every issue that has arisen since the beginning of American Labor history. Every student should have it. No teacher is properly equipped without it. Every labor man and woman will find it a mine of information and a help in the handling of current questions.

Send Your Order Today.

THE PRICE: \$2 NET.

Every order will be filled promptly.

American Federation of Labor

Washington, D. C.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Send all orders to the Secretary.

SWEET-ORR & COMPANY, INC.

15 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK

UNION MADE

WORK SHIRTS
DRESS SHIRTS
OVERALLS



UNION MADE

WORK PANTS
DRESS PANTS
CORDUROYs

THE FAMOUS TUG-O-WAR CONTEST

If you and five others can rip a pair of Sweet-Orr Tug-O-War Work Pants in a steady pull there's a free pair for each. Ask your Sweet-Orr dealer.

NEW ENGLAND SPUN SILK CORPORATION



276 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Ferry Hat Mfg. Company

Manufacturers of
Fine and Medium Grade

SOFT HATS

FOR THE JOBBING TRADE

PHILADELPHIA!

Famed throughout the land for its ships, ice cream, locomotives, carpets, textiles, chemicals—Philadelphia is called the Workshop of the World.

And as the welfare of the community is inseparably linked with the progress of its manufactures, so is the Central Station one of the mightiest factors in production.

Reliable, efficient and economical source of power—that is the ideal of Philadelphia Electric Service.

THE PHILADELPHIA ELECTRIC COMPANY



For Colors
Vode Kid

The Standard Kid Co.

209 South Street BOSTON

Factories: Wilmington, Del.

Nathan Manufacturing Company



21 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

KLEARFLAX

Linen Rugs and Carpeting

FROM

The Klearflax Linen Looms, Inc.

DULUTH, MINNESOTA

Textile Bldg., 295 Fifth Ave.
NEW YORK

Rooms For Conference Meetings Without Charge

Absolutely Fireproof

Hotel Aberdeen 17-19-21 W. 32nd Street

Between Broadway and Fifth Avenue, New York

J. F. Downey, President

Special Headquarters for A. F. of L. Representatives. 300 Rooms with private bath \$2.50 and \$3.00 per day.

YORK SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY

Safes and Vaults

FACTORY

- - - -

YORK, PA.

ARMSTRONG STOCKS AND DIES



HINGED PIPE VISES
PIPE CUTTERS

PIPE MACHINES

STEAM AND GAS FITTERS TOOLS

MANUFACTURED BY

THE ARMSTRONG M'F'G CO.
BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

The Only Safe Water
is a Sterilized Water

Every drop of water used by over
80 million people in North America
is sterilized by Liquid Chlorine



WALLACE & TIERNAN
COMPANY, INCORPORATED
Manufacturers of Chlorine Control Apparatus

NEWARK

NEW JERSEY



CENTRAL AGUIRRE SUGAR COMPANY

AGUIRRE, PORTO RICO



Borden's

THE NATION'S MILK

A Milk Product to Meet Every Requirement



On the Market
Since 1832

MACK TOOL CO., Inc.



REGISTERED

CARPENTERS' TOOLS
COOPERS' TOOLS
MACHINE KNIVES

Rochester, N. Y.

General Office 260 S. Broad St., Philadelphia	J. H. WEAVER & CO. BITUMINOUS COAL For Steamships and High-Efficiency Steam Requirements EXTRA PREPARATION OVER PICKING TABLES	Branch Office 25 Broadway, New York GAS EXCELLENT QUALITY FAIRMONT DISTRICT
SHIPPING PIERS: New York—Philadelphia—Baltimore		

THE AUSTIN COMPANY
Industrial Engineers and Builders
OFFICES ALL PRINCIPAL CITIES

Sani-Flat Mooramel Cement Coating Impervo Surfacers White Enamel Underbody	Benjamin Moore & Co. Paints, Varnishes and Muresco NEW YORK CHICAGO CLEVELAND  ST. LOUIS CARTERET TORONTO	Muresco House Paint Pure Oil Colors Japans and Driers Impervo Varnishes
---	--	--

THE J. G. WHITE ENGINEERING CORPORATION
ENGINEERS—CONSTRUCTORS
43 EXCHANGE PLACE - - NEW YORK

"It is far more economical to pay a few cents more for a good lubricant, than to accept an inferior one as a gift." Do you believe it?

KEYSTONE LUBRICATING COMPANY
Manufacturers and Lubricating Engineers

PHILADELPHIA, PA. **EST. 1884**

Peabody Coal Company
 CHICAGO
 Founded 1883

Operating
 Forty-four Mines in Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Wyoming, with annual capacity of 26,000,000 tons.

McClellan & Junkersfeld
 Incorporated

Engineering and Construction

Power Developments — Industrial Plants—Examinations—Reports—Management

68 Trinity Place, NEW YORK
 CHICAGO PHILADELPHIA ST. LOUIS

The American Federationist

Labor's Official Magazine



Edited by Samuel Gompers



The American Federationist deals each month with the important issues in American industrial life. Every worker in America should be a constant reader of the American Federationist. Every employer should be a student of this magazine. There is benefit for every true American to be found in every issue of the American Federationist.

EDITORIALS.

The vital questions affecting Labor are dealt with each month in special editorials by Samuel Gompers. Authoritative expression of Labor's viewpoint is to be found regularly in the editorial pages.

SPECIAL ARTICLES.

The best writers contribute monthly their thought on great questions. By virtue of these special articles and the editorial discussions, the American Federationist is always an up-to-date text book on industrial affairs.

YOU CAN NOT AFFORD TO MISS THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

Defender of American Labor's Interests.

Subscription, \$1 per year.

For Sale on Newsstands.

WORKERS: Write and learn how you can help increase the circulation of your own magazine. A commission is paid for new subscriptions.

The American Federationist

American Federation of Labor Building

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE RIGGS National Bank

of Washington, D. C.

3% PAID ON SAVINGS

\$1.00

will open an account in our
Savings Department

FIVE CONVENIENT LOCATIONS

MAIN OFFICE:

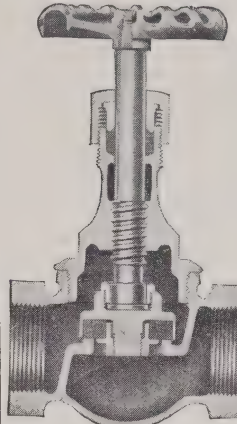
Pennsylvania Ave. Opposite U. S. Treasury

OUTSIDE OFFICES:

Dupont Circle, 1913 Mass. Ave.
Eighteenth St. Near Columbia Road
Fourteenth St. and Park Road
Seventh and Eye Streets N. W.

Capital and Surplus, \$3,750,000

It pays to use Jenkins Valves throughout



They are essentially built for long service and hard usage. All parts are made heavy and strong—nothing is skimmed. And this sturdiness of construction of the Jenkins Valve, together with a well-proportioned improved design, help materially in enabling the user to get the best results out of any piping system.

Many plants realize the importance of this. They appreciate the service only genuine Jenkins Valves can give, and for this reason are using Jenkins throughout.

Jenkins Valves are supplied for practically all valve requirements. At mill supply houses everywhere.

JENKINS BROS.

80 White Street New York, N. Y.
524 Atlantic Ave. Boston, Mass.
133 No. Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa.
646 Washington Blvd. Chicago, Ill.

Sectional view, Fig. 106,
Standard Bronze Globe Valve



Always marked with the "Diamond"

Jenkins Valves

SINCE 1864



TRADE MARK REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.



TRADE MARK REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

WALK-OVER SHOES

for Men and Women

Walk-Over Stores or Agencies
Everywhere

Geo. E. Keith Company

Campello (Brockton), Mass.

W. L. DOUGLAS

\$5, \$6, \$7 & \$8 Shoes
Boys at \$4.50 and \$5.00

Wear W. L. Douglas
Shoes and Save Money

FOR 38 YEARS, W. L. Douglas' name and portrait have stood for quality, for economy and for satisfactory service. W. L. Douglas shoes are exceptionally good values. Only by wearing them can you appreciate their superior qualities. *The exclusive,*

smart models, designed especially for young men and women, *are leaders everywhere.*

W. L. DOUGLAS \$7.00 SHOES are remarkably good value. Seldom have you had the opportunity to buy such *high-grade* shoes at this popular price. Shoes of equal *quality, comfort and service* are rarely found in other makes at our prices.

WHEREVER YOU LIVE, demand W. L. Douglas shoes. They are sold in 120 of our stores in the principal cities and by over 5,000 shoe dealers. *For economy and dependable value,* wear shoes that have W. L. Douglas' name and the retail price stamped on the soles. *The stamped price guarantees the value.*

If not for sale in your vicinity, write for catalog.

W. L. DOUGLAS SHOE COMPANY
12 Spark Street, Brockton, Mass.

*Quality Lubricants Since 1853***SWAN-FINCH OIL CORPORATION****522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK****PEJEPSCOT PAPER COMPANY****MANUFACTURERS OF PULP,
PAPER AND LUMBER**PEJEPSCOT MILL
BOWDOIN MILL
LISBON FALLS MILL
TOPSHAM MILL
GREAT SALMON RIVER MILL
MARTINS HEAD MILL
COOKSHIRE MILL
SAWYERVILLE MILL**OFFICES: BRUNSWICK, MAINE
42 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY****The FIRST NATIONAL****Trademark**stands for the
ultimate in
artistic and
entertaining
pictures. **UNITED STATES SMELTING
Refining and Mining Company****Executive Offices: 55 Congress Street, BOSTON
Sales Office: - 120 Broadway, NEW YORK**BUYERS OF Gold, Silver, Lead, Lead and Zinc Con-
centrating Ores, Matte and Furnace Products
PRODUCERS AND SELLERS OF Gold, Silver, Copper,
Lead, Zinc, Arsenic, Cadmium, Copper Car-
bonate and Sodium Arsenite
REFINERS OF Lead Bullion.**OPERATING OFFICES: Salt Lake City, Utah; Kennett,
Cal.; Goldroad, Ariz.; Baxter Springs, Kan.;
Eureka, Colo., and Pachuca, Mexico.****TEXAS GULF
SULPHUR COMPANY**
*(Incorporated)***41 East 42d Street
NEW YORK****PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY****Glass -- Mirrors -- Paints -- Brushes****Warehouses in All Principal Cities*****For Headache Take
BROMO-SELTZER
SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS*****Subscribe to The American Federationist****\$1.00 A YEAR**



If you're a friend
of Labor
you're a friend of the

DURHAM - DUPLEX

The He-Man's Razor with the He-Man Blades

DURHAM DUPLEX RAZOR CO., Jersey City, N. J.

A. ZICHTL & CO.

Bookbinders

BLANK BOOKS

OF EVERY KIND

MADE TO ORDER

LIBRARY BINDING

1005 E Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Strictly Union Shop



Vaseline
TRADE MARK
Borated

PETROLEUM JELLY

**For cuts,
scratches,
insect bites
and infected
membranes.**

Sold in handy tin tubes at
chemist and general stores.

REFUSE SUBSTITUTES

CHESEBROUGH MFG. CO.

(CONSOLIDATED)

17 State Street

New York



Jacques Wolf & Co.

Passaic, N. J.

Chemical specialties for dyeing, bleaching and
finishing of silk, cotton and woolen
fabrics, including

MONOPOLE OIL

Reg. Trademark No. 70991

*A Specialized Textile Oil, Highly Concentrated and
Double Sulphonated*

Improve
Your
Game!

Use
Basket Ball
Equipment
Made by



A. G. Spalding & Bros

New York Chicago San Francisco
and all large cities



HERCULES POWDER CO.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE



**This Mark
Stands For**

**Quality
First**

GRAND UNION TEA CO.

Branch Stores in Principal Cities.

Price Circular Mailed upon Request.

Reliable Salesmen Wanted

Everywhere.

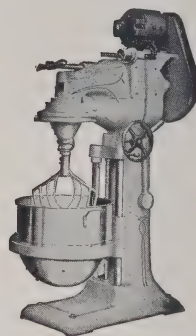
Pearl, Water, Jay and Front Streets
Brooklyn Borough, - - New York.

**Motor Fire Apparatus
Fire Department Supplies**



**AMERICAN LA FRANCE FIRE
ENGINE COMPANY, Inc.**

ELMIRA, NEW YORK



**FOR
Bakery Equipment
of Quality**

CONSULT US

READ MACHINERY CO.

YORK, PA.

**Manufacturers of
Complete Bakery Equipments**

Around the World
for Rich
and Poor Alike

Ingersoll

WATCHES

Keep Good Time
and Good Faith



Reliable Watches
at Low Prices

Good = Better = Best

GOOD FOOD—A dish of noodles,
macaroni or spaghetti

BETTER FOOD—Scientifically
prepared noodles, macaroni or
spaghetti.

BEST FOOD—MUELLER'S Egg
Noodles, Macaroni or Spaghetti;
and so delicious and nutritious,

Serve MUELLER'S a different way
every day.

"All you need in a food."



FRED W. SINCLAIR

ALBERT GRIGG

Sinclair & Grigg
Builders

Medical Arts Building
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

**General Engineering &
Management Corporation**

165 Broadway, New York City

Design—Construction
Management—Financing

PUBLIC UTILITIES

BUY

**U. S. Treasury
Savings Certificates**

United Piece Dye Works

*Dyers, Printers and Finishers
in the Piece of*

All Silk Fabrics, Silk and Cotton Mixed
Goods, Silk and Wool, All
Cotton Goods, Etc.

LODI, N. J.

New York Office: - 132 Madison Avenue
Mills: - - - - Lodi & Hawthorne

BYLLESBY ENGINEERING & MANAGEMENT CORPORATION

**208 South La Salle Street
CHICAGO**

**NEW YORK
SAN DIEGO**

**BOSTON
TACOMA**

Gasoline
Measuring
Pumps and
Storage
Tanks



Industrial
Oil Storage
and
Handling
Equipment

**GILBERT & BARKER
MANUFACTURING CO.**

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

EPOCH MAKING IMPROVEMENTS

THE interpole construction of electric motors now generally copied and approved by all electrical manufacturers was invented, developed and first manufactured by this company.

BALL BEARING electric motors were first developed and manufactured by this company. What other improvements in motor design during the past twenty years compare with these two achievements?

A. C. or D. C. Motors— $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1,000 H. P.

ELECTRO DYNAMIC COMPANY
BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

Sales Offices in principal cities

Hegeman-Harris Company

INCORPORATED

BUILDERS

360 Madison Ave.

New York, N. Y.

Telephone Murray Hill 5362

Barber Steamship Lines

INCORPORATED

Steamship Owners, Agents and Brokers

New York—Australia and New Zealand
New York—China and Japan Ports
New York—South and East Africa
New York—French and other European Ports
New York—Uruguay and Argentine

Room 930

17 Battery Place - New York

THE FOUNDATION COMPANY

ENGINEERING CONSTRUCTION

An Organization of experienced men, equipped with modern plant, prepared to undertake engineering construction anywhere.

120 Liberty Street

City of New York

Offices in Principal Cities

Wilkes-Barre Lace Mfg. Co.

WILKES-BARRE - PENNA.

**Air Compressors, Condensers,
Turbo Blowers, Rock Drilling
Machinery, Oil Engines,
Pneumatic Tools.**

**Branch Offices and Service Stations
the World Over**

Ingersoll-Rand Company

11 Broadway

New York

"It Did the Trick"

"Two years ago I was a sufferer from an affliction of every kind of boil imaginable. At one time I had nine. Imagine playing football with a great boil on the back of your hand, or attending a dance with one right beside your nose.

"I gave up candy and pastry—but the boils continued. Then a friend—you bet he was a friend—suggested Fleischmann's Yeast. I tried it dubiously, but it did the trick! The boils ceased. Since that time I have never gone without my cake of Fleischmann's Yeast."

A letter from Charles F. Weiler of Flemington, N. J.

FLEISCHMANN'S YEAST

At all grocer's

Eat 2 to 3 cakes a day.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor

CHESTER M. WRIGHT, Assistant Editor

Official Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

1924

Executive Council, A. F. of L.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Second Vice-President.

FRANK DUFFY, Third Vice-President.

WILLIAM GREEN, Fourth Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT, Fifth Vice-President.

JACOB FISCHER, Sixth Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL, Seventh Vice-President.

MARTIN F. RYAN, Eighth Vice-President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Official monthly magazine, devoted to the interests and voicing the demands of the trade union movement.

Published by **THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR** at 9th St. and Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C.

Correspondents will please address **SAMUEL GOMPERS**, Editor, Washington, D. C.

All communications relating to finances and subscriptions should be addressed to **FRANK MORRISON**, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

The publisher reserves the right to reject or revoke advertising contracts at any time.

The editor will not be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

The American Federation of Labor is not sponsor for nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Entered at Washington, D. C., post office as second-class matter. Accept for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized July 11, 1918.

Contents for December

Vital Issues Before A. F. of L. Annual Convention..... 949

Mexico's President-Elect in Washington..... 983

By **CHESTER M. WRIGHT**

Cartoon—Rock of Ages..... 988

EDITORIALS:

By **SAMUEL GOMPERS**, President, American Federation of Labor

Reaction Has Roses and Thorns..... 989

Though Others Fail..... 990

Like a Thief in the Night..... 992

A Sociological Quack..... 993

BOOK REVIEW:

The Causes of Industrial Unrest..... 995

What Our Organizers Are Doing..... 1000



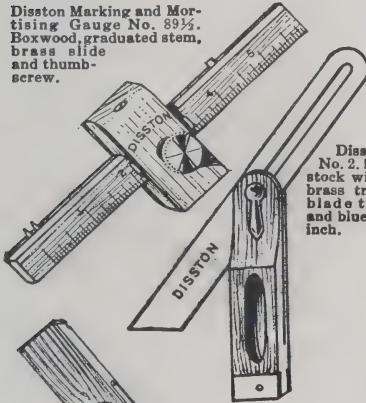


For 84 years "The Saw Most Carpenters Use"

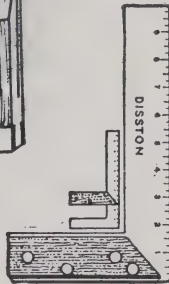
Disston Try Square
No. 5½. Iron stock
nickel-plated, steel
blade graduated to
1-8ths. Square in-
side and out.



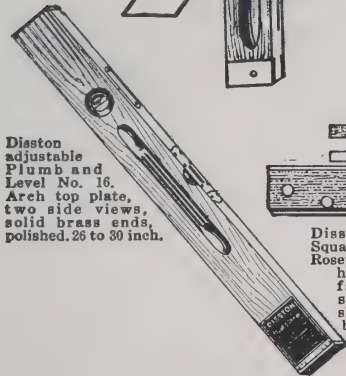
Disston Marking and Mor-
tising Gauge No. 89½.
Boxwood, graduated stem,
brass slide
and thumb-
screw.



Disston Bevel
No. 2. Rosewood
stock with heavy
brass trimmings,
blade tempered
and blued, 6 to 12
inch.



Disston
adjustable
Plumb and
Level No. 16.
Arch top plate,
two side views,
solid brass ends,
polished, 25 to 30 inch.



Disston Mitre
Square No. 10.
Rosewood stock,
heavy brass
face-plate,
special L-
shaped steel
blade.



CARPENTERS were the first to use the saws made by Henry Disston in 1840.

For he gave them a saw that ran easy, cut straight to the line, and cut fast without binding.

Disston put balance into the hand saw; gave it the taper that made it work easy; created the Disston steel, that, fortified with Disston tempering, held the keenest cutting edge.

And carpenters passed on to each new generation their knowledge of saws.

The veteran leaving his last job told the apprentice that a Disston Saw was the saw for him to use.

And so—for 84 years—the Disston Hand Saw has been famous as "The Saw Most Carpenters Use."

Worthy of a place alongside your Disston Saws are Disston plumbs and levels, try squares, mitre squares, gauges and bevels—made to the Disston standard for accurate work and long life.

Henry Disston & Sons, Inc.
Makers of "The Saw Most Carpenters Use"
Philadelphia, U. S. A.

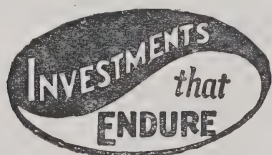
Hardware dealers the world around sell Disston Saws, Tools, and Files

DISSTON

Protect your future by investing NOW

NOW, in your earning years, save your spare dollars. Invest them in sound securities of established public utilities and let them keep earning for you. Enjoy extra comforts in coming years.

Over 2,000,000 people own utility securities. Over 100,000 have purchased through our organization. We specialize in the safe income-earning shares of electric light and power, gas and transportation companies, yielding 7% and better. You can own financial interest in this essential public service industry and draw quarterly dividends on your savings. You can buy for cash or on payments of \$10 down and \$10 monthly per share.



For latest list of investment opportunities call, phone or write



UTILITY SECURITIES COMPANY

72 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Telephone Randolph 6262

Louisville, Ky.



Your Daughter



On many of the motors that make hard housework easy you find this monogram. It stands for General Electric Company, a nation-wide organization which produces apparatus and machines that have made electricity into a servant that works for all.

How much of *her* life must be spent in filling oil lamps, scrubbing clothes and pumping water?

None.

For our generation has made a great contribution to human progress: it has transferred to electricity the burdensome work that women used to do. Your daughter entered the world at a fortunate time.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

PRODUCERS
REFINERS
DISTRIBUTORS
and MARKETERS

of

PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

featuring

PAN-AM GASOLINE
LUBRICATING OILS
FUEL OILS and GREASES

*since our organization handles
its products through every stage
of manufacture—from the well
to the consumer—users of its
various products are assured
of uniformly high quality and
continuous supply*

PAN AMERICAN PETROLEUM & TRANSPORT CO.

120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

ATKINS

SILVER STEEL SAWS

THEY STAND THE TEST!

When you buy another saw, get an *Atkins*. You will be surprised and pleased with the new Improved Perfection Handle, which prevents wrist strain, the two-way taper grinding which makes wide set unnecessary; but which makes fast, accurate, easy sawing a reality.

We make a wide variety of hand, rip and panel saws in regular and narrow width, straight or skew back, also compass and keyhole saws, hack saw-blades and frames, saw tools and scraper blades.

A Perfect Saw for Every Purpose.

Write for free book "Saw Sense."
Enclose 35 cents for high grade nail
apron and carpenters' pencil.

E. C. ATKINS & CO.

Established 1857 THE SILVER STEEL SAW PEOPLE
Home Office and Factory, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Canadian Factory, Hamilton, Ontario
Machine Knife Factory, Lancaster, N.Y.

Branches Carrying Complete Stock In The
Following Cities:

Atlanta
Memphis
Chicago
Minneapolis

New Orleans
New York City
Portland, Ore.
San Francisco

Seattle
Paris, France
Sidney, N. S. W.
Vancouver, B. C.



Big Earnings From Many Sources

An investment in Cities Service Preferred stock provides a wide margin of safety and a return of over 7%.

The stronghold of Cities Service Company is its yearly sale of millions of dollars worth of electricity, natural and manufactured gas to an ever increasing population of millions of people in 19 states.

Cities Service Company also profits by large sales from its Oil Division, a complete unit in the petroleum industry, which supplies a variety of oil products to over 1300 cities and towns in the United States.

In each of the last thirteen years the earnings of the Company's public utility division alone have been more than sufficient to pay all dividend requirements on Cities Service Preferred stock. The large earnings derived from the Oil Division are simply added protection for Preferred stockholders.

Since the Preferred stock was issued, the average yearly earnings of the Company have amounted to more than three times Preferred dividend requirements.

Send for Preferred stock circular P-103 and booklet describing Cities Service Company

Henry L. Doherty & Company

60 Wall Street, New York

BRANCH OFFICES IN

PRINCIPAL CITIES



Who Is the Standard Oil Company? (Indiana)

THE Standard Oil Company (Indiana) is a corporation, organized under the laws of Indiana; composed of 49,451 stockholders—of whom 11,000 are women—not one of whom owns as much as 6% of the total stock.

It is managed by a Board of Directors of ten men—

R. W. Stewart	Chairman
W. M. Burton	President
W. E. Warwick	Vice-Pres., Gen. Mgr. Mfg.
B. Parks	Vice-Pres., Asst. Gen. Mgr. Mfg.
E. G. Seubert	Vice-Pres., Secy-Treasurer
Allan Jackson	Vice-President
R. H. McElroy	Traffic Manager
E. J. Bullock	Director of Purchases
T. J. Thompson	General Manager, Sales
John D. Clark	Vice-President (Assistant to Chairman)

Every man on the Board of Directors of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) has come up from the ranks and earned his place by sheer ability.

Every director of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) lives in Chicago and devotes his entire time to the affairs of this Company and to no other.

The Standard Oil Company (Indiana) acknowledges no allegiance to any other organization. It stands on its own bottom.

The outstanding characteristic of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) is its ideals of service.

Its management—its stockholders—its 27,160 employes—all are imbued with the single idea, that enduring success is achieved through service; that through service comes profit.

It is by strict adherence to this idea and to the every day practice of the principles of fairness, equity and justice to all—customers and competitors alike—that has made the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) one of the truly great institutions of service in America.

Standard Oil Company (Indiana)

General Office: Standard Oil Building

910 So. Michigan Ave. - Chicago, Ill.

Railroad Advertising

Acquaintance of the public by the railroads with the fundamental idea that adequate transportation service is a prime necessity for the economic welfare of all industry and for the general welfare of the country, is responsible for the "railroad planks" in the 1924 platforms of the two great parties.

The Republican platform declares:

"The people demand and are entitled to have prompt and efficient transportation at the lowest rates consistent with good service and a reasonable return upon the value of the property devoted to public service."

The Democratic platform declares:

"The sponsors of the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920, at the time of its presentation to Congress, stated that it had for its purpose the reduction of the cost of transportation, the improvement of service, the bettering of labor conditions, the promotion of feasible co-operation between employer and employee and at the same time the assurance of a fair and just return to the railroads on their investment.

"We are in accord with this announced purpose."



Indeed, the railroads, have been enabled to render more adequate service by telling the public the truth about transportation, and the public has benefited accordingly. In the face of this situation the following editorial, from the *Indiana Farmer's Guide*, published at Huntington, Ind., is of more than ordinary interest:

"One of the most senseless pieces of proposed legislation that has come to our notice is that being prepared by Senator Pittman, of Nevada, in which he proposes that railroads be prohibited from charging public relations advertising to operating expenses. Under this proposed law, railroads would be permitted to advertise freight and passenger service, but would not be allowed to buy space in farm or other papers for the purpose of creating good will. The railroads have been hampered on every hand, but this is about the limit. Whatever their shortcomings, they certainly should have the right to tell their side of the story, especially when they are willing to pay for the space they use the same as any other business concern."

W. J. HARAHAAN, *President*,
The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway.

Hotel Continental

"Centre of New York's Activities"
Broadway at Forty-first St.
NEW YORK CITY

Five Minutes from the Pennsylvania and
 Grand Central Terminals; Within Easy
 Access of the Retail Shopping Dis-
 trict and Surrounded by
 Forty Theatres

300 OUTSIDE ROOMS

Each With Private Bath

RATES:

Single: \$2.50 \$3.00 \$3.50 \$4.00
 Double: \$4.50 \$5.00 \$6.00 \$7.00

COMFORT OF OUR GUESTS
Our First Consideration

*MAJESTIC,
 World's Largest
 Ship*



SPEND CHRISTMAS IN EUROPE

Convenient, comfortable and inexpensive trans-
 atlantic service offered by our fleet of Cabin Steamers
 and the Second and Third Cabins of our express
 liners. Sailings from New York, Boston and Phila-
 delphia to all principal European ports.

Rates as low as \$90.00.

For complete information regarding rates and
 sailing dates, etc., apply to

WHITE STAR LINE
AMERICAN LINE **RED STAR LINE**
 INTERNATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE COMPANY

No. 1 Broadway, New York, the company's offices
 elsewhere or authorized agents.

Fun Everywhere with a

Radiola

(REG. U. S. PAT. OFFICE)



This symbol of
 quality is your
 protection.

Fun—music—news—educa-
 tion—all on the air. Listen
 in with a Radiola. There are
 Radiolas of many sizes—each
 noted for power, long dis-
 tance, and dependability—for
 quality and simplicity. Be
 sure to look for the **Radiola**
 name on the receiving set
 you buy.

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

SALES OFFICES: DEPT. 164

233 Broadway New York, N. Y.

10 So. La Salle Street
 Chicago, Ill.

433 California Street
 San Francisco, Cal.



This book—one penny

Mail a penny post-card at once to Johns-
 Manville, Inc., 292 Madison Avenue at
 Forty-first Street, New York City, for this
 booklet—"Re-roofing for the last time."

Even if you are not ready to re-roof
 now, this book will give you some dollar-
 saving information on the subject. And
 if you are forced to re-roof now, don't
 decide on the method or material until you
 have read this booklet. It may save you
 money.



JOHNS-MANVILLE, Inc.

292 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.

Branches in 62 Large Cities

this
Winter
new-fast
luxurious
service
California
3trains
Via **Rock
Island**



1925
**Golden State
Limited**

All-Pullman, observation, compartment drawing-room sleeping cars, club and dining cars, lounging room for women, two baths, barber, valet and maid. No extra fare.

2 more new trains

GOLDEN STATE EXPRESS and the CALIFORNIAN on fast, convenient schedules. Dining car serving "Best Meals on Wheels."

Daily from Chicago and Kansas City; through sleepers also from St. Louis, Memphis, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Des Moines.

For illustrated booklets and full information, ask
L. M. Allen, Vice-President
Rock Island Lines
726 La Salle St. Station, Chicago

Why Not Use Union Made Printing?

It's better than any other kind, and generally the best.

We use paper bearing the water-marked label of the International Association of Papermakers.

Send us your next order and get the label.

THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING CO.

FRANK B. CROWN, General Manager

*Printing, Engraving and Legal
Blank Makers*

518-520 Fifth Street N. W. - WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mexican Seaboard Oil Company



120 Broadway

New York City

DWIGHT P. ROBINSON & COMPANY

INCORPORATED
ENGINEERS AND CONSTRUCTORS
NEW YORK

CHICAGO

PHILADELPHIA

YOUNGSTOWN

LOS ANGELES

ATLANTA

MONTREAL

RIO DE JANEIRO



The Hind & Harrison Plush Co. CLARK MILLS, N. Y.



CHICAGO SALESROOMS:
125 South Market St.

NEW YORK SALESROOM:
225 Fourth Avenue

INTEGRITY GUARANTEED

THE F & D's facilities for serving Union Labor include Fidelity Bonds for Secretaries, Treasurers and other officials of National and State Federations. These bonds guarantee an honest accounting of all funds handled by officials and make sure that the affairs of the various associations will be properly conducted.

Wherever there is a Local Union there is an F & D Representative ready to supply the bonds needed for the protection of its funds. Unusually prompt service on the part of all F & D Representatives in the execution of bonds and the payment of just claims is made possible by the location of branch offices or general agencies in most of the principal cities in the country.

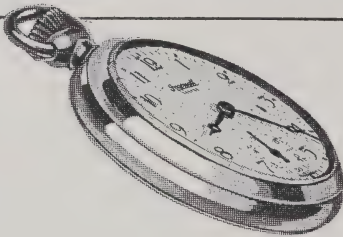
FIDELITY AND DEPOSIT COMPANY OF MARYLAND

"The Bonding Company"

BALTIMORE

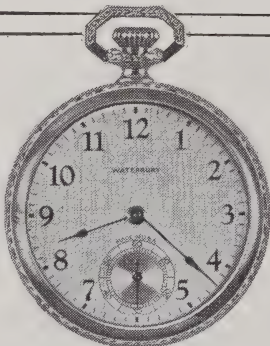
Fidelity and Surety Bonds and Burglary Insurance

For
Christmas
 an
Ingersoll



The New Yankee
\$1.75

Dependable, as always, but with many new features of grace and beauty. With Radiolite dial that tells time in the dark, \$2.75



Waterbury Gold-filled
\$9.50

4 jewels; stylish 12-size. Very modern green or white 14-k gold-filled case. Scratch dial. A handsome gift watch.

You eat when you are hungry; do you sleep when you are tired?

When nature tells you that you are hungry, you eat. But when you are tired, do you go to bed and sleep until rested?

Because it seems to be a waste of time, sleep is often the most neglected necessity of life. Better miss a meal any time, however, than lose sleep you need.

Even when you average eight hours in bed, you may be starved for sleep.

A worn-out spring or mattress may be robbing you. You may be so used to light, broken rest that you do not know how much energy you are sacrificing.

Study the bed you use tonight. Compare it with the Simmons springs and mattresses offered by leading furniture dealers at *the lowest prices it is safe for you to pay*. Then decide whether your sleep is as "nourishing" as it ought to be.

S I M M O N S
Mattresses · Springs · Beds
 BUILT FOR SLEEP

VOLUME II

OF THE

**HISTORY
 ENCYCLOPEDIA
 REFERENCE BOOK**

Is Ready for Distribution

It contains a resume of the proceedings of American Federation of Labor Conventions for the years 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923.

**Send Your Order Today
 The Price, \$2.00 Net**

American Federation of Labor
 Washington, D. C.

Frank Morrison, Secretary Samuel Gompers, President

***Send All Orders to the
 Secretary***



THE man who uses an Underwood Portable soon discovers that though he may dread to write, he likes to *typewrite*. It is a real pleasure to see the words appear on paper almost as fast as you think them. Typewriting on the Underwood Portable is just a flowing, effortless, almost automatic recording of your thoughts in sharp, clear legible form.

Price, \$50 in the U. S. A.

Weight, uncased, 6¾ lbs.; in traveling case, 9¾ lbs

The Portable is obtainable at Underwood offices in all principal cities, or direct by mail.

Underwood Typewriter Co., Inc.
Underwood Building, N. Y.



**UNDERWOOD
PORTABLE**



CLOSELY identified with the progress of travel in all its forms, we have for over eighty years, step by step, applied our experience and knowledge to the upbuilding of a remarkable service to travelers.

Independent Travel

Escorted Tours

*Travelers' Cheques
Cruises*

*Steamship Passages to All Parts of the
World, by All Lines*

Foreign Exchange—Insurance

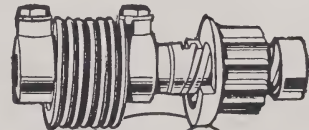
150 OFFICES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

THOS. COOK & SON
NEW YORK

585 Fifth Avenue

253 Broadway

Boston Philadelphia Chicago San Francisco
Los Angeles Toronto Montreal Vancouver



The
**BENDIX
DRIVE**

*'The Mechanical Hand
That Cranks Your Car'*

MADE BY THE

Eclipse Machine Co.
ELMIRA, N. Y.

MAN POWER

NO MATTER whether the machinery is run by steam, electricity or gasoline, the accomplishment is about 90 per cent man power.

The success of every business depends upon the human element. The man at the top and the men he gathers around him determine success or failure—decide in what measure ideals are put into practice—what kind of merchandise and service is delivered to customers.

We are proud of the men and women who make up the Gold Medal organization. They are chosen by a standard, trained to carry on, and the way they develop determines their period of service.

Our man power, like our products, is judged by **PERFORMANCE NOT PRICE.**

Eventually



WHY NOT NOW?

Gold Medal Flour

**WASHBURN CROSBY
COMPANY**

Mills at Minneapolis, Minn.
Buffalo, N. Y. Kansas City, Mo.
Chicago, Ill. Louisville, Ky.
Great Falls and Kalispell, Mont.

MINNEAPOLIS

CHICAGO

GREAT FALLS

LOUISVILLE

KALISPELL

BUFFALO

KANSAS CITY



DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS OF THE
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Vol. XXXI

DECEMBER 1924

No. 12

Vital Issues Before A. F. of L. Annual Convention

BEFORE a convention held in an atmosphere of international peoples and affairs, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor laid important recommendations on domestic issues of the utmost importance.

The great gathering was held in El Paso, on the Texas border, while across the river in Juarez, Mexico, the city named for the Southern Republic's famous liberator, the Mexican Federation of Labor gathered for its annual convention.

Here are important sections from the report presented to the convention in the Council's report:

The year has witnessed many dramatic developments affecting wage earners, and the labor movement itself has witnessed a steady progressive movement toward better organization, a great influence on our whole social life in all its important aspects.

It is with immense satisfaction that we note the growth of constructive and progressive thought on every hand, perhaps the healthiest sign on our whole horizon. It is obvious that there is today a greater understanding of the aims of Labor than ever before, a greater and deeper sympathy with Labor's purposes and aspirations and a finer spirit of cooperation.

Educators, to cite an example, have arrived at a better understanding of Labor and they have during the year more than ever displayed their deep interest by inquiry at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor for information and counsel, as well as regarding methods by which they might be helpful.

There has been a marked weakening of the cold wall of bigoted opposition on every hand. Labor's position has won new friends and defenders

and has challenged the admiration and sympathy of great numbers who have during the year come to a better understanding of our movement.

It is not only the policy of our movement regarding what are generally known as purely Labor measures that has won for us this growing understanding and friendship; the position of our movement on broad measures of social and industrial progress has been equally productive of understanding and good-will. The bigoted and obviously selfish movement of reactionary employers to destroy the unions and inaugurate what has been variously described as "open shop" and "American plan," was contrasted in the public mind with the constructive logic and thoroughly American declaration of Labor for the steady growth and development of democratic practice in our industrial life, and the comparison of these two positions has left reactionary and bourbon employers in a most unfavorable position.

This exposition of Labor's faith in democracy and of its understanding that a solution of industry's problems must be approached on a basis of democratic practice has won for our movement great admiration and friendship among the thinking people of our country. It may be of some interest to record the fact that no other action or statement of position during the year has brought forth so much comment and so many valuable expressions of hope and confidence. Our own membership has been encouraged and inspired, and those outside of our movement who look to Labor for constructive guidance have been greatly cheered.

The militant determination of our movement, together with this promulgation of a democratic constructive policy in our industrial life has resulted in the almost complete elimination of the so-called "open shop" movement as an aggressive force. That movement is, of course, not dead, but it is, and for the past year has been, in retreat. It has been overcome by organized determination backed by the weight of a vastly superior and purely American philosophy. We look with a considerable measure of satisfaction upon the developments in this field and we believe we may safely look forward to a continuance of that healthy and constructive trend.

In the world of life and labor nothing is static—there is no standing still. If we are not to go backward, we must forge onward. This we have done during the year just passed and this we must do in the year to come with even greater intelligence, determination, and vigor. We are each day convincing the wage earners of our country of the supreme necessity of trade-union organization. We are likewise convincing great numbers of those who are not wage earners in a similar manner thus building up a sustaining body of opinion for progressive, democratic, and constructive effort.

We shall review in this report with some detail the various problems with which we have had to contend during the year and offer recommendations for the future. In doing so we feel that while there is much to beget discouragement, there is infinitely more from which we may derive gratification and inspiration to carry us forward to a year of more eager effort and greater achievement.

INDUSTRY'S PATH OF PROGRESS

We take pride in calling attention in this report to the declaration included in our report to the Portland convention in which was set forth the

pathway along which, we are convinced, the development of industry and of industrial freedom must be sought.

We pointed out the fact that American labor has from the beginning been committed to the ways of democracy and that its effort always has been to develop democratic practices. In so far as autocracy in industry has given way to democracy there has been a development of human freedom and a right adjustment of human relations. In so far, also, there has been an approach to the solution of important problems of production.

Again we repeat, there is no other way by which we may approach the ideal which all labor holds up as its goal.

Industry must find its own way through the difficulties with which it is beset. There is no magic wand with which barriers may be waved aside. There is no outside agency, governmental or otherwise, which may be called in as a physician to cut away the entanglements. Industry, we repeat, must solve its own problems, or we face the alternative of state intrusion which must inevitably lead to bureaucracy and breakdown. Democracy can not come into industry through the state. Any effort in that direction results in bureaucracy and destruction of democracy.

But we must point out—and we wish to emphasize the point beyond mistake—the road to democracy in industry is not a road that labor alone can travel. Democracy in industry implies and involves the participation of every useful element in industry.

While there are large groups of employers that still hold to the despotic attitude which denies to Labor even its most elemental and fundamental rights, progress toward democracy is being made.

While there are groups of employers that still refuse to recognize the right of wage earners to organize freely and to be represented by men of their own choosing, progress toward democratic practice continues.

While there are groups that hold these reactionary and arbitrary views toward Labor—the great human element in industry—Labor must and will shape its policies to meet the conditions thus imposed.

It is with great pride and satisfaction that we find these views held by a diminishing number each year. The number this year is smaller than it was a year ago. But these immobile minorities frequently block the pathway for many who, if left to their own will and wisdom, would move onward in keeping with the knowledge and the spirit of the hour.

We have set forth our faith in democracy and we have lived our devotion to its practices. When employer meets employees and enters into agreement with them, that minute absolutism in the workplace disappears and a measure of democracy enters in. The old day has gone from that time and for all time. The road thus opened leads far into the future, with developments in store which we may not yet see clearly, but which lead toward more and more freedom for each human unit and more and more life for all. But until the door is opened progress must stand outside waiting for its chance. There can be no beginning for democracy until autocracy begins to retreat.

We have pledged our faith in the principle of democracy in industry, as in political life. We have gone forward as rapidly as it has been possible to

move. But Labor can move onward only as rapidly as it can convince others to move.

Too frequently Labor is still compelled to fight for the simplest rights. It is compelled to fight for the very A B C's of industrial freedom—for the right to organize, the right to cease work, the right to speak through its chosen representatives, the right to fair conditions under which to work, the right to keep its childhood away from the mill and factory.

We still will have our barbarous "open shop" movements, our autocratic injunction judges, our stop-watch employers, our blind and reckless managements, and we still have production methods inspired by the investor for the investor without regard either to the worker or the consumer.

Labor is ready to move forward as rapidly as the whole of industry is ready to move. But while reactionary and bourgeois employers stand across the pathway, Labor must meet conditions as they are. This it will do, and reaffirming its faith in the future, it lays the responsibility for delay squarely upon those groups of employers that will not see the light, that cling in darkness to the brutalities of the past, that still do homage to the tyrannical idea of "divine right" to rule arbitrarily, and that are unmoved by Labor's appeal for justice, progress, freedom and democracy.

CHILD LABOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Since May, 1922, the activities of the American Federation of Labor have been directed to the securing of an amendment to the constitution to protect the children of our nation. The Supreme Court in that month had declared unconstitutional the excise tax of ten per cent on the net profits of all products manufactured by child labor.

Immediately after the Supreme Court handed down its decision in 1922, President Gompers called a meeting of representatives of women's and men's organizations in the A. F. of L. headquarters, in which the Permanent Conference on the Abolition of Child Labor was formed. President Gompers was made chairman. This conference became the responsible agency for determining the best way to protect child life by federal legislation.

The best information obtainable at that time was that it was impossible for Congress to pass a law that the Supreme Court would not declare unconstitutional. It was, therefore, necessary to submit a joint resolution to Congress proposing a constitutional amendment that would permit Congress to legislate so that child life would be protected. This agitation was successful and the following joint resolution proposing a child labor amendment was passed by the present Congress on June 2 and submitted to the states for ratification:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

Lengthy hearings had been held during the life of the Sixty-Seventh Congress before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Judiciary.

The personnel of the subcommittee appointed in the Sixty-Eighth Congress to consider the child labor amendment was the same as that which considered a similar measure in the Sixty-Seventh Congress. Therefore, the committee decided to refer to the record and hold no further hearings. In the House, hearings were held before the Committee on Judiciary sitting as a whole. Representatives of organized labor offered arguments in favor of the enactment of the amendment. Representatives of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the churches, women's organizations and other organizations were heard in favor of the amendment. The National Manufacturers' Association, representatives of mill owners in the south and capitalists whose homes were in the northern states but who have interest in the profits derived from child labor in industries in other sections of the country appeared in opposition to the measure.

The Committee on Judiciary of the House and Senate reported the amendment favorably. Attempts were made on the floor of the House and in the Senate to emasculate the amendment. Amendments were offered to exempt certain industries and callings. Other amendments proposed were to the effect that sixteen years of age should be substituted for the eighteen-year-age maximum proposed in the amendment. All of the proposed amendments were defeated and the amendment was adopted in the House by a vote of 297 to 69. It passed the Senate by a vote of 61 to 23.

The proposal for the ratification of the child labor amendment is now before the state legislatures; four of which have already acted. The Georgia, Louisiana and North Carolina legislatures refused to ratify the proposed amendment. In these states child life is therefore sacrificed to the greed of the mill owners. Arkansas, upon the recommendation of Gov. Jonathan M. Davis, was the first to vote in favor of ratification. The next legislature to meet is that of Arizona, which convenes in November. The states that have not acted upon the proposed amendment will convene in January.

It is therefore necessary that a most intensive campaign be launched by the state federations of labor, city central bodies and all local unions in the interest of the child labor amendment.

The enemies of the proposed amendment seek to defeat it by the most vicious propaganda, in which it is claimed that if it is ratified no persons under eighteen years of age can work at all. There is no word harsh enough to denounce this claim. If that was the intention of the amendment the words "to limit and to regulate" would not have been incorporated. The object of fixing the age up to eighteen under which the labor of persons could be limited, regulated or prohibited, was to make it unnecessary in the future to seek another amendment that will provide a higher age under which the labor of persons can be limited or regulated. In some states the labor of children up to twenty-one years of age is prohibited in hazardous employments, but in a number of others the age limit to enter gainful occupations is as low as twelve. A number of states permit children to enter gainful employment at a very immature age, as will be seen by the following table:

(Law applies at least to both factories and stores unless otherwise indi-

cated. Compulsory school attendance provisions, which sometimes indirectly affect the minimum age for employment during school hours, are not included.)

Alabama.....	14	(12 during vacation in stores.) ¹
Arizona.....	14	(10 for boy in vacation ¹ in work not harmful.)
Arkansas.....	14	(child working in vacation for parent in occupation owned or controlled by him exempted.)
California.....	15	(14 on special "poverty permit"; 12 in school vacation or on Saturday.) ¹
Colorado.....	14	(12 in summer vacation.) ¹
Connecticut.....	14	
Delaware.....	14	(12 in canneries; 12 for boy outside school hours in nonharmful work; ¹ no minimum age if child obtains "poverty permit.")
District of Columbia.....	14	(12 on "poverty permit" in work not harmful.)
Florida.....	14	in factories; 12 in stores.
Georgia.....	14	in factories (12 on "poverty permit"; no minimum age in stores.)
Idaho.....	14	(12 in vacation.)
Illinois.....	14	
Indiana.....	14	
Iowa.....	14	(stores employing less than 9 persons exempted; child working in establishment owned or operated by parent exempted.)
Kansas.....	14 ²	
Kentucky.....	14	
Louisiana.....	14	
Maine.....	15	during school hours in factories and stores; 14 outside school hours in factories, but no minimum age for stores.
Maryland.....	14	
Massachusetts.....	14	
Michigan.....	15	during school hours; 14 outside school hours.
Minnesota.....	14	in factories; 14 in stores during school hours; (no minimum age in stores outside school hours).
Mississippi.....	14	in factories; no minimum age in stores.
Missouri.....	14	during school hours (child working for parent exempted); no minimum age outside school hours.
Montana.....	16	in factories; no minimum age in stores.
Nebraska.....	14	
Nevada.....	14	during school hours; no minimum age outside school hours.
New Hampshire.....	14	
New Jersey.....	14	(child 10 or over desiring to assist in support of self or family may obtain special certificate for work outside school hours in street trades and "other light employments," but this does not permit employment in factories or stores except at errands or delivery work in connection with stores.)
New Mexico.....	14	during school hours (except on "poverty permit," for which no minimum age is specified); no minimum age in stores outside school hours.
New York.....	14	
North Carolina.....	14	in factories; 14 in stores except under regulations prescribed by State Child Welfare Commission.
North Dakota.....	14	

¹Permit required.

²Law ambiguous as to whether there is any minimum age for work in stores outside school hours.

Ohio.....	16	during school hours; 14 outside school hours.
Oklahoma.....	14	in factories; no minimum age in stores.
Oregon.....	14	(12 in school vacation of two weeks or more, in work not harmful in discretion of Board of Inspectors of Child Labor). ¹
Pennsylvania.....	14	
Rhode Island.....	15	during school hours; 14 outside school hours.
South Carolina.....	14	in factories; no provision for stores.
South Dakota.....	14	in factories except on "poverty permit," for which no minimum age is specified; 14 in stores during school hours; no age minimum for stores outside school hours.
Tennessee.....	14	
Texas.....	15	in factories; ² no minimum age for stores.
Utah.....		No minimum age except for certain dangerous or injurious occupations.
Vermont.....	14	in factories ³ no provision for stores.
Virginia.....	14	(12 in fruit and vegetable canneries outside school hours; 12 for boys at running errands or delivering parcels.) ⁴
Washington.....	14	(12 on "poverty permit" at work not dangerous or injurious.)
West Virginia.....	14	12 for boy in mercantile establishments outside school hours. ⁵
Wisconsin.....	14	(12 in stores in vacation.) ⁵
Wyoming.....		No specific minimum age except for work in certain dangerous or injurious occupations, but no child whose attendance at school is required by law shall be employed during school hours.
Alaska.....		Minimum age for boys in mines, 16.
Porto Rico.....	14	
Philippines.....		No minimum age except for employment in acrobatic and similar performances.

The proposed child labor amendment was passed by Congress June 20, 1924. It must be understood that although a state may have refused to approve the amendment, the same state may change its decision and vote for the ratification of the amendment. It is therefore necessary to keep up educational work in the states for the purpose of changing the attitude of the legislatures.

The proposed amendment does not in itself regulate or prohibit anything nor affect the employment of the labor of children at all. The proposed amendment when ratified, would authorize and empower the Congress of the United States to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. Federal child labor regulation will become effective only when Congress, after the amendment is ratified and under the new authority granted, shall enact a Federal Child Labor Law. The proposed authorization granted to the Congress of the United States will in no way

¹Board interprets this to exclude work in factories and stores, except errands for small stores not in congested districts.

²Child 12 or over may obtain permit to work on account of poverty, but not in "any mill, factory, workshop, or other place where dangerous machinery is used," or where child's moral or physical conditions are liable to be injured.

³Commissioner of Industries with approval of Governor may suspend provisions for 2 months in any year in case of establishment handling perishable products.

⁴Street trades badge required.

⁵Permit required.

impair state child labor laws unless the standards enacted in the state laws are lower than those in whatever federal legislation Congress may pass. The two laws declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, prohibited the labor of children under the age of fourteen years in mills, canneries, factories or manufacturing establishments and under sixteen years in mines and quarries.

The provision in the proposed constitutional amendment regarding the authorization of Congress to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of children under eighteen years of age was designed, not to preclude all children under age of eighteen years from working, but is intended to authorize Congress, by constitutional grant, to determine a varying age limitation as applied to the different kinds of employment, the risk and hazards embraced in seasonal and other indetermined conditions involved. Such authorization now will obviate the necessity of a future constitutional amendment to meet our industrial conditions as they may develop in the cycle of time. It is not only for economic reasons that the citizenship of our country is urged to ratify the proposed amendment to the constitution. It is one of the highest duties of the men and women of our time to safeguard and protect the child life of our America.

Massachusetts is to have a referendum in the November election, the result of which is not known at the time of the writing of this report, but which will be reported to the convention. The American Federation of Labor began a campaign early in August to acquaint the people of Massachusetts with the necessity of giving as large a majority as possible for ratification of the amendment. The labor officials of the commonwealth have kept up a continuous educational campaign.

Forty thousand local unions have been circularized and their members urged to use every influence to elect members of the various legislatures who will vote to ratify the proposed amendment. The American Federation of Labor will leave no stone unturned to bring about the ratification of this necessary legislation to protect the children.

LABOR AND THE COURTS

After an effort extending over many years, the American Federation of Labor has at last succeeded in making the arrogation of responsible discretionary power by the courts the paramount issue before the American people. Labor forced that issue into the foreground in 1908 and 1912, in the form of the proposed recall of judges and the recall of judicial decisions.

Never has the issue so dominated the consideration of the American people as now and sufficient education on the part of organized labor and sufficient agitation and organization in cooperation with political allies can keep it paramount until Labor's remedies are enacted.

In order to carry on this campaign effectively it is necessary to recall to mind the origin of the remedies now sought by Labor.

Because of the fact that the Supreme Court and the federal judges as well as many state judges are appointed for life, the courts are the most remotely responsible branch of the American government. Because the

judiciary is the least responsible branch of the government the reactionary interests have conducted their attacks on the rights of the individuals and on labor organizations mainly through the courts, as well as strengthening their defense against legislation demanded by the people.

The attack through the courts on organized labor has mainly taken the form of injunctions and suits for damages against the unions for alleged conspiracy and other offenses instituted under either a perverted interpretation of the ancient common law or an equally strained interpretation of the American constitution.

The misuse of the injunction has become so menacing as to threaten to undermine public confidence in the judiciary. That eminent lawyer and Republican leader, Senator Pepper, denounced it before the American Bar Association, thus:

Under such a system of government as ours, the maintenance of well-nigh universal confidence in the judiciary is pretty nearly essential to national safety. Is it not worth while to place elsewhere than upon our federal judges the burden of solving for us our legislative and executive problems? . . .

To maintain such confidence, must we not confine the courts to the sphere in which the creators of our constitutional system intended them to live and move and have their being?

On the development of injunctions against strikes, Senator Pepper has further declared:

. . . in a free country we can not by governmental action compel people to work . . . when a strike is on, the strikers are enough in earnest to wish their strike to be effective and that means that it becomes their interest to create conditions under which their places will not be effectively filled by others. The third fact is that under all conditions government must protect life and property, yet if we insist upon interpreting the courts to masses of citizens as mere obstacles to industrial justice we shall not only be undermining popular respect for our most important institution, but we shall be straining government to the breaking point.

. . . The injunction orders have become more and more comprehensive and far-reaching in their provisions until they culminate in the Shopmen's Injunction order. Every thoughtful lawyer who has not already done so should read that order and meditate upon its significance. In so doing he should have in mind that during the shopmen's strike in 1922 nearly everyone of the two hundred and sixty-one "Class 1" railroads and a number of short-time railroads applied for injunctions in the various federal courts. No applications were denied. In all nearly three hundred were issued.

The exercise of power of the courts in industrial disputes has become a menace to our institutions and to the practices of free men. Constitutional safeguards of individual liberty have been repeatedly violated by the courts. It is not the rights of the working people alone that are threatened by substitution of judicial discretion for established agencies and methods for administering justice.

The extent of judicial despotism in process of development was disclosed when the President of the United States issued a pardon to Grossman, found guilty of contempt, and when the President's right to do this was directly denied by the federal court and Judges Carpenter and Wilkerson rendered a decision holding that regardless of the fact that the constitution grants to the President full powers of reprieve and pardon in the case of all

offenses against the United States except impeachment, that the federal courts have the inherent power to decide punishments in contempt and that therefore even the President of the United States was without power to interfere with or mitigate punishments decreed. Thereupon Grossman was arrested and sent to prison to serve his sentence, the President's pardon to the contrary notwithstanding.

In order fully to grasp the present situation, mention must be made of the judicial perversion of the remedies hitherto sought by organized labor. This is necessary in order to explain why new and more far-reaching remedies have become absolutely indispensable.

After years of agitation, labor succeeded in 1914, in securing the passage of the Clayton Act, two sections of which, section 6 and section 20, dealt with the chief methods by which the courts had been attacking organized labor, injunctions and the so-called crime of "conspiracy." Section 20 of the bill is as follows:

That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States . . . in any case between an employer and employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right, of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

The provisions of this act, together with the intent of Congress, were accepted by labor as a bona fide attempt to remedy wrongs. These Labor provisions came to be designated as "Labor's Magna Charta." However, the courts by emphasizing the words underlined, ruled that "property right means the right of a man to do business" and that this entitled him to injunctions against strikers and labor organizations.

With regard to injunctions, the Act proceeded further to definitely define what acts should not be enjoined. The definition is as follows:

No such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; or from attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working, or from ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do; or from paying or giving to, or withholding from any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from peacefully assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such disputes by any party thereto; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States.

The words underlined enabled the courts to render the whole clause meaningless. The limitations of the injunction specified were without effect because of the fact that judges issuing injunctions exercised the authority to determine what was lawful and what was not lawful.

The other section of the Clayton Act, Labor believed, protected it from

suits and injunctions, based on alleged conspiracy, which means simply Labor acting collectively for its interest.

For many years the prosecution of labor had mainly been under the Anti-Trust laws. The Clayton Act was intended to put an end to prosecution under the Anti-Trust laws. Section 6 reads:

That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor . . . organizations, instituted for mutual help . . . or to forbid or to restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the anti-trust laws.

Again the words underlined were interpreted by the courts as allowing practically the same injunctions against alleged "conspiracies" as previously. The unions were not to be regarded as trusts, but they could be regarded as "conspiracies" under the ancient common law.

The Clayton Act was also intended to guarantee a trial by jury. Until very recently, the courts have interpreted this provision to mean that a trial by jury may be accorded the accused if the judge trying the accused for contempt so elected.

However, this evil has recently been removed by the United States Supreme Court in two decisions just made wherein the section guaranteeing a trial by jury to all charged with contempt was held constitutional and a proper denial of the power of the courts to find the accused guilty of contempt.

In the case of *Sandefur vs. Canoe Creek Coal Co.*, the Circuit Judge certified this question to the Supreme Court for a decision as to the constitutionality of this section. With it was considered a case of railroad strikers (*Michaelson et al. vs. United States ex rel. Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Co.*) who had been denied a jury trial upon being judged in contempt after violating an injunction. Holding that the status of employer and employe is not destroyed by a strike, the Supreme Court in a decision rendered on Monday, October 20, 1924, held that this section of the Clayton Act was constitutional and that the workers were entitled to a trial by jury.

This decision is a blow at the encroaching power of the judiciary and will go far to re-establishing faith in the government. No longer will a federal judge be accuser, judge, and executioner, in these cases at least. And the onward march of labor will be heartened to secure much the same sort of law in the several states.

The resultant effects of this section of the Clayton Act and this decision affirming its constitutionality are of far-reaching significance to organized labor and justify labor's complaint that the courts have assumed an unwarranted and unconstitutional exercise of power. These decisions go far to remove some of the more pronounced abuses connected with the injunction evil, but nevertheless leave undisturbed the unwarranted authority of federal judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes. Having made this progressive advance in curbing the powers of the courts, it needs our even

greater attention to remove the root of the evil and not rest content that some of the more flagrant abuses have been mitigated or removed.

Then, too, it must be remembered that there is the necessity for similar legislation to restrain our several state courts. It will be recalled that Oklahoma and Massachusetts have had laws of this kind, which have been declared unconstitutional as being an unwarranted invasion upon the inherent power of the judiciary.

Evidently the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court are a reversal of these former decisions. It is difficult to conceive that Congress may constitutionally limit the power of federal judges to find the accused guilty of contempt without a jury trial and deny our state legislatures a like power and authority to limit the power of state courts. Wisconsin has a law of this character. It is reasonable to assume that other states will hasten to secure similar laws for the protection of the workers in their individual and collective rights. The Executive Council urges that organized labor give such measures first place in their legislative programs for the coming year.

Whatever else may be said of Labor's long struggle to curb the courts' unwarranted and unconstitutional assumption of power over the people, it must be freely conceded that these decisions would never have been decided as they were, unless the question of the unwarranted power of our courts had been fully presented to the people and sentiment crystallized against it. It has been said that the Supreme Court follows the elections and this is well demonstrated in this instance.

Other anti-labor decisions by the Supreme Court, including decisions declaring social legislation unconstitutional, have forced Labor to the conviction that the power of the courts can not be restrained solely by legislative enactments, but that constitutional or other amendments are necessary to make the courts more responsible to the people.

In 1906 the Federation proposed a constitutional amendment to provide for the direct election of the judges by the people. In 1912 the Federation was willing to accept the principle of appointment, if limited to short terms and accompanied by the right of recall of judges, as well as the recall of judicial decisions. The Federation at that time succeeded in making this one of the chief issues before the American people and keeping it as a leading issue from 1908 to 1912.

The European war in 1914 turned attention in other directions. Immediately after the war the American Federation of Labor in its Reconstruction Program, proposed its present remedy of permitting Congress to repass a measure over the judicial veto. The Reconstruction Program declared:

It is manifestly evident that a people are not self-governing unless they enjoy the unquestioned power to determine the form and substance of the laws which shall govern them. Self-government can not adequately function if there exists within the nation a superior power or authority which can finally determine what legislation enacted by the people, or their duly elected representatives, shall be placed upon the statute books and what shall be declared null and void. . . .

It is essential that the people, acting directly or through Congress or state legis-

latures, should have final authority in determining which laws shall be enacted. Adequate steps must be taken, therefore, which will provide that in the event of the Supreme Court declaring an act of Congress or of a state legislature unconstitutional and the people acting directly or through Congress or a state legislature should re-enact the measure, it shall then become the law without being subject to annulment by any court.

This reform has been sponsored by Senator La Follette and the Republican-Democratic progressive movement. Mr. La Follette appeared before the American Federation of Labor convention in 1922 at Cincinnati, and in a lengthy and forceful argument laid before that body added reasons for this great constitutional reform. The Committee of the Federation at the same convention, which gave further consideration to the question, decided that it would be better if the proposal specified a two-thirds majority of Congress, and the resolution of that year was to that effect, demanding the following amendment:

An amendment providing that if the United States Supreme Court decides that an act of Congress is unconstitutional, or by interpretation asserts a public policy at variance with the statutory declaration of Congress, then if Congress by a two-thirds majority repasses the law, it shall become the law of the land.

Labor proposes to leave the Supreme Court of the United States with greater power than that enjoyed by any similar judicial body of any other country in the world. There is no proposal to touch the strictly judicial powers of the court, and even its right to declare and interpret the constitution—confined within reasonable and constitutional limits—is not attempted to be modified.

The proposal of the American Federation of Labor amounts to this: The Supreme Court at the present moment is the absolute and final arbiter of the entire American political structure. By an amendment which would divide this final power with Congress, the Supreme Court would be deprived of autocratic power over the constitution and the other branches of the government and confined to strictly judicial functions.

Labor does not stand alone in its protest against the assumption of unlimited power by the judiciary of our government and its apprehension as to the destruction of our democratic institutions and the need of safeguarding of the legislative branch of government.

Our forefathers saw the situation as did John Marshall, later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and the originator of the doctrine of judicial oligarchy, when he declared:

The legislative authority of any country can only be restrained by its own constitution. This is a principle that springs from the very nature of society; and the judicial authority can have no right to question the validity of a law unless such a jurisdiction is expressly given by the constitution.

Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of *Marbury against Madison*, decided by the Supreme Court in 1803, first asserted for that court the claim that the court could nullify an act of Congress by declaring it unconstitutional.

A year later, however, when Justice Chase of the Supreme Court was under impeachment, the Chief Justice, in writing to Justice Chase, stated his views as follows:

I think the modern doctrine of impeachment should yield to an appellate jurisdiction in the legislature. A reversal of those legal opinions deemed unsound by the

legislature would certainly better comport with the mildness of our character than would a removal of the Judge who has rendered them unknowing of his fault. (Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*, Vol. III, p. 177.)

It was at the time of the Dred-Scott agitation that Lincoln made his strong statements against the powers of the Supreme Court over the constitution, statements which he repeated after his election, and which are as follows:

The people of these United States are the masters of both Congresses and courts, not to overthrow the constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the constitution. (September 7, 1859.)

The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. (March 4, 1861.)

Mr. Roosevelt's Progressive Party in this respect continued the Jefferson and Lincoln traditions, its 1912 platform demanding "such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policies."

Commenting upon the unlimited and unrestrained powers of our courts, ex-President Roosevelt said:

If the courts have the final say-so on all legislative acts, and if no appeal can lie from them to the people, then they are the irresponsible masters of the people. The only tenable excuse for such a position is the frank avowal that the people lack sufficient intelligence and morality to be fit to govern themselves. In other words (I want your attention to that) those who take this position hold that the people have enough intelligence to frame and adopt a constitution, but not enough intelligence to apply and interpret the constitution which they have themselves made.

Organized labor has realized that it is extremely difficult to accomplish anything either through the courts or through legislation, or even through constitutional amendment, until the courts are better informed. Even constitutional amendments have been and are continuously perverted and misinterpreted by the courts.

Organized labor has therefore put the reform of the Supreme Court and direct election of federal judges in the forefront of its program.

Labor is earnestly engaged in securing certain constitutional amendments, including the enactment of the child labor amendment. Two child labor bills have already been declared unconstitutional and the child labor amendment itself is subject to being perverted by the courts unless that power is first limited and unless they are made responsible to the people as proposed by organized labor.

The Portland convention in 1923 following the previous convention, demanded an amendment which would clearly safeguard the collective as well as individual rights of the wage earners and make it impossible for the Supreme Court or any other court to limit, restrict, or deny such rights by wrongful interpretations.

The amendment proposed is as follows:

An amendment prohibiting the enactment of any law or the making of any judicial determination which would deny the right of the workers of the United States and its

territories and dependencies to organize for the betterment of their conditions; to deal collectively with employers; to collectively withhold their labor and patronage and induce others to do so.

Aside from these constitutional amendments, the legislation demanded by the Cincinnati convention in correction of the Clayton Act, is the following:

A law which will make more definite and effective the intention of Congress in enacting Sections 6, 19 and 20 of the Clayton Act, which was manifestly ignored or overridden by the courts.

The second remedy declared for by the Cincinnati convention is:

An act repealing the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which was intended by Congress to prevent illegal combinations in restraint of trade, commonly known as "trusts," but through judicial misinterpretation and perversion has been repeatedly and mainly invoked to deprive the toiling masses of their natural and normal rights.

Not only has the Sherman Anti-Trust Law been applied to outlaw the rightful and just collective efforts of the wage earners through their trade unions, but more recently the Federal Trade Commission has undertaken the enforcement of this as well as the Clayton Law in a manner that makes still more exasperating and threatening the menace confronting the workers. The Federal Trade Commission charged with guiding and administering the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and the Clayton Act, has demonstrated its unfitness to perform the functions delegated to it. Its activities have been ineffective so far as large and influential combinations are concerned. With respect to trade unions the Federal Trade Commission, following the example of the courts, is trespassing upon the field of personal relations between employers and organized workers. It is assuming to pass judgment upon labor contracts which contracts were specifically exempted under the labor provisions of the Clayton Act. Thus the Commission is arrogating to itself some of the functions of an industrial court and is thereby establishing a policy which our legislative body rejected. It is clear that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and all other related laws can not be used to check undesirable industrial tendencies and have been used only to repress constructive development of both industry and the trade union movement.

Court decisions and legal interpretations have been such as to make necessary the enactment of legislation removing proscriptions against normal constructive development of industrial controls and repealing the unnatural and undesirable prohibitions contained in trust legislation.

In the place of our present policy of prohibition, we need to develop a national economic policy of constructive regulation which shall direct growth and expansion along lines leading to benefits for our whole nation as well as the industry. The problem of regulation involves the determination of broad general policies and the provision of the necessary technical agencies competent to secure the purposes desired. That a governmental agency may fail completely of constructive results is demonstrated by the punitive achievements of the Federal Trade Commission. On the other hand, the Department of Commerce which has been attempting constructive leadership through group action has disclosed the possibilities of that sort of gov-

ernmental service which is constructive and helpful. This constructive development is in marked contrast to the repressive, wasteful policy of the Federal Trade Commission.

The development of legislation to provide for the fundamental economic needs of workers and industry should not come from but one of the groups concerned, but should be the recommendations of all elements affected. Labor would welcome an opportunity to participate in such constructive work.

We recommend that this convention emphatically declare in favor of concentrated action on the part of the men and women of the labor movement of our country in support of the constructive fundamentals outlined and appeal to the forward-looking citizenship of America to aid in the establishment and maintenance of the essential reforms in this report set forth.

INSURANCE

Insurance, speaking of all kinds collectively, may be defined as the science of sharing economic risks. There are two types of values, viz.: Human life values and property values. One group of insurance covers life, accident, health, compensation, liability, etc., and pertain to life values; another group of fire, marine, credit, bonding, etc., to property values, but whatever the form which we have in mind, insurance represents a great living force that reaches out in every direction to serve mankind wherever values are subject to loss. It renders this service either by way of prevention or indemnification. It is a great economic factor of safety, which changes uncertainty into certainty. Without it, it would be impossible for business to function with any degree of certainty or safety.

Regarded from another angle, insurance is related to the public welfare and naturally identifies itself with the great constructive movements that have for their aim the uplifting of the community.

It is said that 84% of property values are now protected by insurance policies, but that only 7% of the value of human life is so protected. This in itself is rather an unpleasant commentary on the way in which life and casualty insurance men have done their work.

As the nature of insurance becomes more clearly understood by the public, the demands for better service will also increase. Wherever man has a future obligation to fulfill, which involves the uncertainty of life, such as the accumulation of an estate, education of children, provision for unpaid taxes or debts in the event of death, old age provision, or the accumulation of a business surplus for future contingencies, life insurance may be used as a sinking fund method to assure realization of the contemplated object.

Trade unions have been keenly alert to the science of sharing economic risks, and in a more or less complementary fashion have provided fraternal insurance covering in part the losses sustained due to loss of life values. However, this field of indemnification has far exceeded all human expectations and has rapidly assumed a proportion and form that bids fair to become the most potent and influential agency in all our affairs of today and especially in the field of industrial relations unless essential counter-

balancing agencies are established to protect the rights, interest, influence and power of the wage earners.

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held a year ago in Portland, Oregon, the President was directed to investigate this subject or to cause it to be investigated and with the approval of the Executive Council submit the findings and recommendations for further consideration and action by the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers, selected for the purpose of investigating this subject and submitting recommendations, Messrs. Matthew Woll and George Perkins and we submit herewith the report of this committee, its findings and recommendations for your favorable consideration and action.

Report of Special Committee

OCTOBER 7, 1924.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Pres.*,
American Federation of Labor,
DEAR SIR:

The Portland Convention, A. F. of L., October, 1923, adopted a resolution—No. 83—authorizing the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate or cause to be investigated the amount and kind of death benefit insurance paid by national and international unions, group insurance, and other forms of insurance. You appointed Matthew Woll, President of the Photo-Engravers' Union, and G. W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union of A., to make this investigation. Your committee sent a questionnaire to all of the national and international unions in which we asked what if any death benefit or insurance they paid and whether they would be interested in a mutual, cooperative, properly developed plan of insurance under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions. A total of 53 unions reported. Of this number 39 unions reported that they paid some kind of death benefit or insurance, and many unions reported that they would be interested in a mutual, cooperative, properly developed plan of insurance under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions. Your committee has with the limited time and means at its command gone as fully as possible into the question of insurance and we find that:

It is stated by insurance authorities that the combined assets of life insurance companies of this country amount to approximately Ten Billion Dollars. This is either in cash, first mortgage real estate securities, or approved railroad and industrial bonds, state, county, municipal and government bonds. It is in cash or the equivalent of cash and is invested in the bed rock, underlying and controlling securities of the nation.

It is conservatively estimated that in the year, 1923, over Two Billion Dollars were collected in premiums for insurance, and that it required about One Billion Dollars to liquidate all liabilities and claims, leaving practically One Billion Dollars for the further increase of the financial power of these gigantic corporations.

The history of insurance in this country portrays a remarkable degree

of advancement. The early attempts at insurance were almost all for the protection of property. There soon grew up a sort of fraternal form of death benefit insurance followed by death benefit insurance by private companies. Fraternal insurance has proved in many instances to be a failure, chiefly because it is on the assessment plan and the premium to be paid increases in accordance with the age of the membership or because the premium was inadequate. Fraternal insurance not based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality, and upon a fixed premium rate not subject to change or assessment is not entirely safe. The assessment plan upon which most of the fraternal insurance, including that in our unions, is based has never been entirely satisfactory. Where new blood is not taken into these fraternal associations, failure and repudiation of benefits are the inevitable result.

The present day insurance company is surrounded by special laws which, while they do not fully protect the interests of the insured, do practically protect the company against failure. Scientific investigation has been made from the records of insurance companies which has made possible the establishment of insurance premium rates based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality. This is so scientifically and accurately arranged that failure of a properly conducted insurance company is impossible. The insurance laws provide that an insurance company shall maintain a legal reserve fund. This fund is obtained by exacting the payment of a sufficiently large premium in advance. The money is then invested under the laws in approved securities at a rate of not less than three per cent. The insurance companies have a right to invest at any rate they can safely get. The result is that while ostensibly the rate of interest from the reserve fund is 3 per cent or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent or 4 per cent the companies often get 5 or some times 6 per cent interest, which is the source of enormous profits. Many individuals have become enormously rich and are still piling up great wealth out of this business.

Reliable statistics show that profits on capital stock invested in life insurance companies range from 18 to 22 per cent on the average. The capital stock of insurance companies has frequently shown a hundred per cent increase in a single year, created by increase of capital stock or payment of large dividends from surplus funds arising out of the profits of the business.

The excessive expense attending the present conduct and management of life insurance in this country is one of its greatest evils. Few companies show an expense ratio of less than 20 cents out of each dollar of premium received and not a few companies show an expense reaching the astonishing figure of an amount equal to 40 to 50 cents out of each dollar of premium received during the year.

These insurance companies have become one of the most powerful economic, social and political factors in the United States.

The insurance business is increasing at an astonishingly enormous pace. It is said that there is a total of sixty billion dollars of insurance in force in America, covering the lives of forty million people. In the value of its cash assets and the volume it is the second largest industry in the United States.

It is second in value only to the farm products. Some statisticians have calculated that at the present rate of increase, in fifty years the insurance companies will be in a position to control practically all the industries in the United States. It is the safest and surest business in the whole world. It requires no great capital to start and having the American Experience Table of Mortality rate as a guide it can not fail. There is no risk. It is much safer than banking and less intricate and much easier to control.

A state document issued by the superintendent of insurance of the state of Missouri shows that the fire insurance profits of ten fire insurance companies for the five years ending December 31, 1922, were 230.5 per cent on the combined capital stock, and 189.15 per cent on the average capital stock for the five-year period. He says: "The largest percentage of profit made by any one company on its average capital stock for the five-year period from its invested income was 1157.81 per cent and the smallest 141.41 per cent." The document issued by the superintendent contains 19 pages, 12 by 9½, of solid printed matter of very interesting and instructive data, and is contained in an official state document, signed by the superintendent of insurance of the state of Missouri.

The plan of group insurance by employers was started in 1912. At that time there was in force about \$13,172,198 worth of insurance of this character. This amount has steadily grown until at the end of 1922 there was \$1,852,593,533. Many more millions of group insurance were created during 1923-24. At the rate that group insurance is increasing it would be fair to assume that there is at least three billion dollars in group insurance in existence today. In the past twelve years group insurance has increased from \$13,172,198 to approximately three billion dollars, showing an increase of \$2,986,827,802.

Charles F. Nesbit, insurance counsellor, Washington, D. C., in a letter addressed to President Gompers under date of January 17, 1924, goes deeply and quite thoroughly into the whole question of insurance and especially group insurance. This report to President Gompers contains 42 typewritten pages. Mr. Nesbit states that there are five good reasons why organized labor should enter the field of old-line legal reserve life insurance. He points out: That most of the death benefits paid by the unions are not based upon sound, scientific, actuarial foundations, and that with increasing age of the members, payment becomes a burden upon union resources; that many members of organized labor carry life insurance for protection which he says can be more conveniently and more cheaply and with equal safety handled through their own companies where properly organized; that such companies would be a powerful factor in recruiting union members and seeing that unions' memberships are maintained; that the reserve required by law would in a short time amount to a great sum of money; that this fund would be absolutely free from attack through the court in any issue involving the union and would on the other hand become a powerful influence in increasing the standing and prestige of organized labor; that such companies could reduce the operating expenses to a very low figure, and the vast amount of money thus saved could be used to reduce the cost of insurance to its policy

holders and it would be entirely possible that by utilizing the present union organization the expenses of the unions themselves might also be considerably reduced because of this insurance activity. He shows that the so-called industrial insurance companies exact an enormous tribute from the great mass of wage earners who patronize these companies.

Mr. Nesbit submits some very interesting figures on the question of group insurance. He points out, however, that group insurance is term insurance, which means that the rate while low is changed each year so that if the average age of the members of an association happens to increase from year to year the premium rates would be raised correspondingly. This to Mr. Nesbit's mind is not the most satisfactory form of insurance for the members of organized labor to undertake. It should be remembered that he is personally committed to the whole life insurance plan.

We find that group insurance is a rather recent development in the life insurance business. There may be humanitarian employers who provide group insurance for their employes with no ulterior motive in their mind, but it can not be overlooked that group insurance is also a good thing for employers, especially of the non-union type. Nor can it be overlooked that in many instances one of the motives behind group policies is to tie the employes to their job, to prevent or discourage strikes, and that group insurance provided by employers certainly tends to prevent the worker to whom it is given from having a single eye to his own economic welfare.

A thousand dollar group insurance policy costs the average employer about 4 cents a day; or about \$15.60 a year. It can not be overlooked that frequently much advertising is given to the fact by employers that "this insurance is furnished free to the employes." Just what does this mean in cold figures?

A case has been cited where two shops are operating in one city. One is union; the other, non-union. The non-union shop made a great stir in the papers about "giving" a thousand dollar policy free of cost to each of its employes. The union shop does not provide group insurance.

The figures we find on income, wages, and hours indicate that the employes of the non-union shop receive 4 cents an hour less than the union shop. They work nine hours a day instead of an eight-hour day. This difference would mean that in the non-union shop, the workers contribute to the employer each day nine times the amount paid for the group insurance policy "given" them. This would mean that this employer at the end of each year had in his pocket five times the amount paid for group insurance for his employes, saved in lower wages.

Under these circumstances the free gift of this insurance is hardly anything to brag about and when the important element of hours and wages paid by non-union shops in comparison with union shops is taken into consideration, the statement as usually made might fairly be considered misleading.

Self-reliance and independence, self-help and cooperation among the workers in their own interests would be certainly increased by the wage earners providing their own insurance rather than depending on the humanitarian

impulse of employers. Self-reliance and independence are essential characteristics of American citizenship.

The summary of Mr. Nesbit's report previously referred to is as follows:

1. Insurance is for citizens of the United States the most practical and popular method of creating an estate and providing for dependents and old age.

2. It is vast in volume and extent, exceeding sixty billions of life insurance in force represented by more than seventy-five million policies or contracts. Insurance companies hold more than ten billions of cash assets and have an annual income of more than one and one-half billion.

3. Its greatest evil or abuse is the excessive expense imposed on the insured, which unnecessarily increases the cost of insurance protection. This expense arises from a mad race for volume of business and assets. The annual expense exceeds \$400,000,000.

4. Group insurance, a recent development in life insurance, attempts to solve the insurance problem of the average wage earner. It is calculated to benefit the employer and to work against trade union affiliation and loyalty.

5. Its adverse influence can be best overcome by labor organizations themselves meeting the wage earners' insurance needs.

6. The existing organizations and financial methods and machinery of labor organizations are admirably adapted to furnish their members absolute insurance protection at the lowest possible cost.

7. The service thus rendered by utilizing the present fiscal organizations of union labor should result in reducing not only the cost of insurance protection to an absolute minimum, but also in reducing the present cost of labor organizations themselves in the important items of rent and clerk hire. In other words, where the union headquarters can be used, the present union-paid officers and the present union clerks can be employed or used in part, in handling the insurance business as well as the union's business, which should result in a decided saving to both the organizations.

Another considerable saving would come from the fact that advertising, which is a part of every insurance company's legitimate business, should and could be carried on largely through the publications and journals conducted by labor organizations. This would be a decided financial advantage to the unions with no loss to the insurance company.

These are only some of the methods by which the mutual financial advantage of the unions could be served by the establishment and handling of their own insurance business.

An extremely interesting document was submitted to your committee by Mr. L. D. Wood of the Universal Sales Agency Insurance Research Bureau of Philadelphia, Pa. He says that the gross premiums paid to the companies each year exceed in value the output of all of our mines or the total value of all automobiles produced, and are second in value only to the products of our farms, that the payment made by our people amounts to the enormous sum of about two millions dollars per year. He says that within the shadow of Wall Street are companies whose assets thus gathered

in dimes and dollars from every corner of the country exceed seven billion dollars or about 70 per cent of the whole. He points out that this creates a never ending, absolutely dependable source of money supply in good times or bad, which is not affected by crop failures, earthquakes, war, or pestilences, and which finds its way into the constantly increasing golden stream to the New York bankers for investment and distribution.

He points out that life insurance is very simple, that it requires very little machinery for its operation. He says that one company which advertises that it has policies numbering more than a fifth of our entire population employs only about 5,000 clerks and the executives required are hardly more than a half dozen in number.

He goes over much of the ground we have quoted from the report of Counsel Nesbit, although he goes more into detail and shows the enormous profit to insurance companies.

He points out that a company holding five hundred million dollars of its assets in reserve are making a profit of 2 per cent or ten million dollars a year.

He also points out the fact that the table of American Experience Mortality was gotten out some years ago, that it covered the survivors of the late Civil War and the smallpox epidemic and that it has not been thoroughly revised since, and that with the better living conditions now obtaining and more freedom from epidemics it is found that human life is gradually lengthening and that the rates charged by the insurance companies are much higher than they would be if the Mortality table were brought down to the present. He holds that a company controlled by the unions could do this and still be on an absolutely safe basis and yet save millions of dollars to be returned in dividends to the members or to be used for cheapening the rates of insurance.

He points out that we could take up, in addition to the regular life insurance, annuities and income policies, old age pension policies and fire insurance which is the most profitable of them all; in fact go thoroughly into the insurance business.

He summarizes his report as follows:

The opportunity presented to the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR by the foregoing facts and conditions is a most unusual one. Life insurance has been legalized; the legal reserve system has been tried and proven. There is nothing occult or even vague about the business. It does not even require the analytical, discriminating judgment necessary to the conduct of the banking business. The laws governing life insurance are well defined. They have been established by many decisions interpreting them, and a new company could not easily be discriminated against. No investment in machinery or goods, or in credits is required; even the capital required to engage in the business may be retained and invested in income producing securities.

The opportunity to quickly build a strong, safe company affording absolute protection to the working people, at cost, is here.

It is the unanimous opinion of a few experts to whom the idea has been presented that such a company would in a very few years become the best known of all legal reserve companies; that its growth would be phenomenal and that its power and influence for good can hardly be estimated.

It would quickly become a great and enduring monument to the sagacity and wisdom of its founders.

SUGGESTION—A capital stock company to operate on the legal reserve system and on the participating policy plan only—to write both ordinary and industrial forms of policies—to be owned by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and its constituent elements and their members, and directed by the heads of those organizations. It should have a paid-in capital and surplus equal in amounts, of as much as can be quickly and inexpensively secured, building its business among its own members and agencies by their own properly constituted local officials.

Such a company could be very quickly and inexpensively organized. It would quickly and inexpensively acquire a very large volume of desirable business. Its growth in assets would probably be faster than that of any company ever formed. Its profits legitimized by custom and law would belong to its owners, while its growing accumulation of reserve would be available for any legitimate financing.

Its successful launching and operation would constitute an achievement such as has seldom been equalled.

Your committee makes no definite recommendations as to the form our insurance enterprise shall assume. We have been convinced and fully persuaded that it is not only advisable and safe but almost the duty of the unions jointly to adopt some form of proper insurance. However, we are opposed to have the American Federation of Labor as such actually engage in the insurance business.

We have reliable documents and statements on which the foregoing report is based, which are at your disposal.

Fraternally submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL,
G. W. PERKINS.

This report is furnished for the information of affiliated national and international unions who may wish to avail themselves of the opportunity of studying this report, and for such action as they may desire to take.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS

Heretofore society has been extremely jealous of the rights of property. Everywhere the cry has been heard that property must be protected and be protected adequately by law. Personal rights, the rights of humanity, however, have not been sufficiently recognized or protected. These latter rights must receive greater consideration and emphasis in the future. Wherever and whenever called upon to choose between these two, the rights of humanity must prevail and the rights of property must give way.

It is upon this distinction that the old system of employers' liability and the new method of workmen's compensation are founded. The former system attempted to protect property and property alone and to leave the rights of humanity unprotected, under the false assumption that all industrial hazards and accidents are due to neglect. The new point of view is that industrial hazards and accidents are more or less inseparable from modern industry and that industry consequently should bear the cost of compensating those who suffer from the effects of industrial hazards and accidents.

While under this latter method the cost of compensation falls immedi-

ately upon the industry, the cost in fact is spread over and involved in the cost of production and is thereby ultimately borne by the community as a whole but under a more humane and constructive fashion than under the older system and not dependent upon public or private charity.

Considerable progress has been made in advancing this new concept of legal responsibility of industry to the risks and hazards involved and in the method and form of compensation to be provided injured workmen and their dependents. With this progress, development and extension of the principles of workmen's compensation there has come the need for a revision of those laws in a number of particulars. Then, too, there has developed the necessity of more nearly equalizing and unifying the provisions and requirements of the workmen's compensation laws in the several states and in the United States. This necessity is accentuated not only in the requirement to place industry upon a more equal condition in the several states but likewise to assure the workmen more adequate compensation and more dependable methods of payment than are provided at the present time.

There is hardly need to affirm that the American Federation of Labor has assumed the unquestioned leadership in the origin, development, extension and constant improvement of workmen's compensation laws in America. It has demonstrated likewise its leadership in the effort more nearly to equalize and unify the provisions and requirements in the workmen's compensation laws of the several states. To give emphasis to this latter part of its program the Executive Council by authorization of a previous convention selected a special committee for this purpose, consisting of Vice-Presidents William Green, Frank Duffy and Matthew Woll.

This committee has been at work for a considerable period of time. It has submitted a comprehensive report to the Executive Council setting forth the minimum and maximum requirements contained in existing laws, with recommendations as to standards which should guide our future activities in this phase of our remedial legislative endeavors. This report has received the careful consideration and full endorsement of the Executive Council, and under authority vested in it, it is the intent and purpose to release this report in the very near future for the instruction and guidance to all interested in furthering humane legislation of this character.

Among the more important changes contemplated in existing workmen's compensation laws are: Revision of those requirements relating to the amounts of compensation to be paid; providing a more adequate and just manner in determining the weekly wage upon which compensation is to be predicated; calling for greater promptness in the payment of compensation; requiring the inclusion of compensation for all trade and occupational diseases; including payment for funeral expenses, embracing compensation, without discrimination, of alien non-resident dependents; prohibiting "direct settlements"; demanding that greater attention be given to the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases; insisting that the principles of rehabilitation of maimed workers and of restoring them to useful self-sustaining occupations shall receive attention, and that all commercial methods of

compensation insurance be made inapplicable to cover this form of risks and requirements.

It is urged that this work of the special committee be given the widest possible publicity and that renewed efforts be displayed everywhere for the early and speedy enactment of the standards proposed and recommended.

The American Federation of Labor is endeavoring to have a bill passed by Congress for the District of Columbia that will be a model for the entire country. The insurance companies have made it an issue and are using every means possible to defeat any legislation that will prohibit private insurance.

When the bill came up for action in the Sixty-seventh Congress, a bill in the interest of the insurance companies was substituted for the American Federation of Labor measure. When this reached the Senate the American Federation of Labor decided that it was better to urge the defeat of the insurance company bill. The bill was defeated.

The American Federation of Labor bill was re-introduced in the Sixty-eighth Congress and was approved by the Committee on Judiciary and it is now on the House calendar for action.

Substantial progress was made last year in improving the compensation laws in several states. For example, there are now twelve American laws (including the federal act for public employes) which compensate occupational diseases. And in New York State in 1924 we secured the non-compensated "waiting period" reduced from 14 to 7 days, thus adding \$1,500,000 a year to benefits and increasing the number of cases compensated about fifty per cent. At present there are thirty-six American laws having a "waiting period of seven days or less," (including several having no waiting period).

Since New Hampshire change her law in 1923, all states except Arizona now provide medical service. Seventeen states, as well as Hawaii, Porto Rico and the federal government, either place no limit on the duration or amount of medical care or else permit both limits to be indefinitely extended through administration.

As to percentage of wages now paid (Louisiana very recently, West Virginia and Oklahoma since 1922 have raised their scale for total disability compensation) there are now sixteen laws paying 65% or 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % and only eleven as low as 50%.

The last \$10 a week maximum weekly payments were abolished in 1923. Eight states, including Louisiana very recently, and Hawaii, now have a weekly maximum of \$20 or more.

Twenty state laws now provide permanent total disability compensation for life.

RAILROAD LABOR LEGISLATION

Successive conventions of the American Federation of Labor have unsparingly condemned the United States Railroad Labor Board created by the Esch-Cummins Act. Each year the conduct of the Board and the operation of this law has amply justified such condemnation. During the

past year the Labor Board has continued to increase irritation and discord in the human relations on the railroads and has continued its policy of violating all the traditions of the industry, of bona fide trade unionism and of American citizenship.

The labor organizations on the railroads, confronted with this intolerable situation, after mature consideration and study of the problem through their recognized leaders and in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, drafted a bill to abolish the Labor Board and the section of the statute under which it operates and to set up in its place a simple law, based upon the principles of voluntary collective bargaining and government aid in bringing about voluntary arbitration.

This Railway Labor Bill (also known as the Howell-Barkley Bill on account of its sponsors in Congress) imposes a general duty upon the carriers and their employees "to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements concerning wages and working conditions." The parties to any dispute are required to confer, and the Bill specifically safeguards such conferences by prohibiting either party from attempting to influence the other in the selection of its conference representatives.

Disputes over the application of existing agreements—called grievance disputes—which can not be settled in such conferences, must be referred to the appropriate Board of Adjustment. Four such Boards of Adjustment are set up by the Bill, each to be composed equally of employes and carrier representatives, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from nominees submitted by the respective groups of workers, organizations and managers.

The bill prohibits changes in working conditions or wages until the machinery of the bill has been exhausted. Disputes over changes in existing agreements or the establishment of new rates of pay or working conditions, which can not be adjusted in conference, are not referred to the Boards of Adjustment. Such undecided disputes, together with any grievance disputes which can not be decided by the proper Board of Adjustment, are to be settled through a Board of Mediation and Conciliation, composed of five impartial experts, appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. The aid of this Board may be invoked "by either party, or it may proffer its services on its own motion." If mediation proves unsuccessful, then the Board of Mediation and Conciliation must urge the parties to submit their differences to arbitration. The bill provides specifically that arbitration is to be purely voluntary. The Board of Arbitration is to be composed of individuals selected by the parties, the neutral arbitrator to be selected by agreement of the parties or by the Board of Mediation. If voluntary arbitration is agreed to, the parties likewise agree to accept the award of such a Board of Arbitration and this contract and the resulting award may be enforced in the courts.

Before the introduction of this bill, numerous conferences were held between the railroad labor organization executives and their counsel, and with President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, Vice-President Woll and other representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The officers of the

Railway organizations, including the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Railway Employes Department of the American Federation of Labor, before finally deciding upon the draft of the bill to be introduced in Congress, were solicitous of securing the judgment of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with such suggestions as the Executive Council might make in reference to it, and to secure our endorsement of the measure.

The bill was considered at length and in every detail by us, and after a lengthy discussion the bill was not only endorsed but cooperation pledged in every honorable effort to secure its enactment by Congress. Conferences were also held with the Secretary of Commerce, and an effort was made but without success to obtain the cooperation of the railroad executives, in the preparation of just and adequate legislation.

On February 28, 1924, the Railway Labor Bill was introduced into the Senate (as S. 2646) by the Honorable Robert B. Howell of Nebraska, Republican, and member of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, and in the House (as H. R. 7658) by the Honorable Alben W. Barkley, Democrat, ranking member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

In the Senate the Bill was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and a special subcommittee was promptly appointed to hold hearings on the bill. The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, dominated by reactionaries, granted no hearing, and it was made plain that it was their purpose to smother the bill by failing to report it out of Committee.

On March 18, 1924, hearings on the bill were begun before the Senate subcommittee composed of Senators Couzens of Michigan, Chairman, Gooding of Idaho and Dill of Washington. The case for the bill was thoroughly presented by D. B. Robertson, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and Chairman of the Chief Executives Special Committee, and Donald R. Richberg, counsel for the railway labor organizations and representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The carriers opposed the bill, and a large number of railroad executives and general counsel swarmed to Washington in an effort to prevent its passage. Among the witnesses before the Special Committee composing the Bill were Alfred P. Thom, Chief Counsel, and Hale Holden, Chairman of the Association of Railway Executives; Carl R. Gray, President of the Union Pacific; P. F. Crowley, then Vice-President of the New York Central, and others. Ben W. Hooper, Chairman of the United States Railroad Labor Board, also appeared in opposition to the bill. The carriers also brought about the appearance of a number of "company union" representatives in opposition. The hearings closed on April 7, but due to the illness of Chairman Couzens no report was made until May 19, when the Bill was favorably reported with amendments to the full Committee on Interstate Commerce. The Committee favorably reported the bill, with amendments, all of which with but one exception improved the bill. This report was

presented to the Senate on June 6, too late for passage at the first session of Congress which adjourned June 7.

In order to get the bill out of the House Committee and on the floor of the House for consideration, Congressman Barkley took advantage of the new "Committee Discharge Rule." The petition filed by him under this rule was quickly signed by over 150 members of the House, and on May 5, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was discharged from further consideration of the bill. The opposition, led by the floor leader, Nicholas Longworth, then began a desperate parliamentary struggle to prevent a direct vote on the measure. These dilatory tactics were repeated each time the bill came up for consideration on May 5, May 19, and June 2.

During this battle in the House, representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of twenty organizations of railway and marine workers carried on a splendid campaign of education of members of both Houses winning increasing support of the bill. Other legislation favorable to the public interest was awaiting the consideration of the House; and rather than prevent its enactment by fighting out the filibuster with the opponents of the bill, the friends of the bill in the last week of Congress turned their attention to farm relief and other similar measures, and agreed to postpone a finished fight on the Howell-Barkley bill until the session of Congress which convenes December 1, 1924. Under the House rules the bill has special privilege over all other bills on the calendar on the first and third Mondays of each month until passed. The bill also is in a favorable position for consideration by the Senate. The fact that the Progressives have demonstrated a majority power in the Senate and that in the House on 24 roll calls the proponents of the bill never fell below a majority, seems to assure the enactment of the Howell-Barkley Bill into law during the December session, upon a renewal of the vigorous fight made at the last session.

In order to prevent a real understanding of the bill and thus prevent its passage, the railroads have resorted to an extraordinary campaign of misrepresentation, and for furthering this an organization called the "American Economic Institute," headed by A. H. Mulliken, president of a railway supply company, has been established by the railroads since the adjournment of Congress in June.

It is the intent and purpose of all of the forces of organized labor and of all friends desirous of maintaining the freedom of the workers and of promoting industrial peace, to carry on this fight insistently and vigorously for the abolition of the Railroad Labor Board, and the enactment of the Howell-Barkley bill.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The American labor movement has endorsed and actively supported policies and principles of education which today constitute a comprehensive program of education. The program falls into two main divisions: Education of our youth and education of adults. For the education of America's youth, labor helped to promote and develop our public school system; for

adult education, we have advocated and do advocate voluntary agencies and adequate opportunities for all. To put this comprehensive educational program into effect requires central planning and the coordinated activity of all unions affiliated to our Federation.

Local Committees on Education

In order to provide permanent machinery for sustained work, your committee has been urging state federations of labor and central bodies to authorize local standing committees on education to cooperate with our committee and to be responsible for carrying on labor's program locally. We have been advised of the appointment of a number of such committees, but not all local bodies have responded. As such local committees are the agencies through which our work must be accomplished, we have sent repeated requests for action and shall continue to urge compliance until a full roster is reported. These committees are to be responsible for all education work both for unions and adults and an educational directory has been printed in cooperation with the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Our committee hopes to constitute a central clearing house so that labor experience with educational methods and developments in each locality may be used for the assistance and service of the labor movement.

Decisions for Educational Policies

Upon fundamental principles it is necessary that the national movement make decisions and our central committee must collect the facts of experience upon which decisions are to be based. It is of utmost importance that decisions of policy be made only after careful examination of adequate facts and experience and that local groups consult with the national committee before making final pronouncement upon principles which are general in application or significance.

School organization and methods of instruction are necessarily changing in order to perfect our educational procedure. Again and again the attitude of labor to such changes comes under question and in order to promote most surely the welfare of all our people, it is necessary that decisions be made only in the light of full understanding of the method or principle under discussion and after consideration of all factors and sources of information.

We must seek to achieve that very difficult attitude—impartial judgment influenced only by facts and experience. It not infrequently has happened that a method or a theory has been discredited because wrongly applied or because an interested group excluded certain data or information.

One of the significant and fundamental trends in the educational field of today is that which is attempting to disclose and define those agencies of culture which were ignored by the old classical education and to find in industry and the things of daily life that which will develop habits of constructive and creative thought and bring beauty and harmony into living. It has therefore become of greatest importance that our judgment of new proposals shall be guided by a fundamental philosophy and not hampered by stereo-

typed standards evolved by the concepts of culture of limited groups. As education grows to more democratic standards of service it will find new currents and higher levels which will more fully represent the educational needs of a greatly diverse group. Necessarily there will be changes and specialization, but to confuse such developments with an effort to set up invidious distinctions is to obstruct an agency of real democracy. We must find the method whereby people in all walks of life may share in culture that leads to service and a higher vision of living.

It is in this scientific spirit and with faith in the possibilities of democratic progress that we propose to invite study of such pressing problems as junior high schools, the platoon or work-study-play system, intelligence tests, etc. Some of these problems local groups have investigated and made reports in diametric conflict, one with another. It is obvious that unity of decision is most essential. We hope during the coming year to study these reports and conditions and facts upon which they were based to determine whether such conclusions represent well-founded or only apparent conflicts.

Teaching of Social Studies

In continuance of the work begun with the survey of the teaching of social studies, we have sent copies of the confidential report on text-books to authors and publishing companies. Communications received relative to this confidential report indicate that the report has served to point out the contribution labor has made to our national progress and social development. We may expect to find the effects of the investigation and report evident in the broader and more unified presentation of national life in future text-books. We should expect gradual but definite progress.

Vocational Education

The labor movement is the agency that can best indicate the relations between work and education and can fittingly insist that the work process shall be permitted to render its full cultural service. For these reasons labor has emphasized vocational problems in education. But in no case has that emphasis been for the purpose of excluding other phases. Rather to add the elements necessary for the development of the whole field of education as a unit.

If labor is to make its specific contribution to this field of vocational education, it is of primary importance that a trade unionist of high standing and repute in our movement be selected for the commissioner of the Federal Board for Vocational Education representing labor. The Senate adjourned without confirming President Coolidge's appointment for this office and we urge that strong presentations be made to the President and to the Senate that only a trade-unionist understanding the problem and best interests of the service be appointed to this office.

We further urge that in connection with local administration of vocational education, both state and municipal, the local central body recommend advisory boards upon which labor shall have adequate representation. Such

close contacts are necessary not only for the best direction of plans and policies, but for the information of the labor movement. Public schools have very generally taken over apprentice training which formerly was under union control; hence it becomes doubly necessary for labor to be identified with the determination of policies for industrial education and vocational training.

I. Trade Education

We urge upon every national and international organization to provide opportunities for advanced technical education for your membership. Trade manuals and correspondence courses ought to be available for members seeking to improve their craftsmanship.

As elementary vocational training is usually under public school supervision or else is provided by the industry, we urge organizations to secure representation in the agencies controlling and directing this kind of education.

II. Adult Education

In no field of its educational activity can labor point with a greater measure of satisfaction than to adult education. For in this field are to be found both comprehensive plans and substantial accomplishment. Adult workers' education is the witness that the world of labor and the world of culture that seemed to be drawing apart in our rapidly developing industrialism has in fact found a basis of accord. Because of their reciprocal needs they should be joined in common bond. For no culture which is achieved without some form of creative labor is worthy of the name culture. And no labor which is uniformed by such cultural standards as service or use or beauty dignifies sustained human activity.

In this linking anew of labor and education, labor has disclosed a vast new opportunity for creative participation not only in the product of education but in its process. For all education whether adolescent or adult is essentially self-education. In Labor's untiring advocacy of free public instruction for the children of all the people; in its championship of vocational instruction, continuation schools and night classes, it has conceived such educational agencies as indispensable for the adequate instruction of our youth and has assumed this civic responsibility for the future citizenship of our country. In Labor's active participation in the adult workers' educational movement, it has assumed a new civic responsibility for itself. Labor recognizes that adult education is not to be regarded as a luxury for a few nor as the concern for a short period of early manhood but is an indispensable necessity of intelligent and constructive citizenship in democracy. Indeed, it conditions the character of democracy whether it be political, industrial or social.

Workers' Education Bureau

During the past three years the American Federation of Labor has made a distinct and definite contribution to the adult education movement in the United States through the Workers' Education Bureau with which

it forms an organic part. That organic relationship has been mutually beneficial and is essentially sound. For the principles of voluntary effort and local autonomy which form in part the basic principles of the American labor movement, form as well the basic principles of adult education. Moreover, the educational achievement which has resulted from the reciprocal relationship must stand in refutation to the assertion that labor is interested only in material advantage and not in cultural opportunities.

The 43rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor outlines the practical steps for the development of this movement throughout our country so adequately that we venture to present here again these three specific proposals which set forth with admirable brevity the goal to be achieved and the method to be pursued.

1. That we recommend to the workers of this country, through the channels provided for them by the American Federation of Labor, the establishment of study classes for the free and impartial study of such problems as are of interest to them, and that they avail themselves of the educational advice of the Workers' Education Bureau in the organization and conduct of such classes.

2. That we recommend that each State Federation of Labor establish a permanent educational department and provide an educational director to cooperate actively with the Workers' Education Bureau in providing adequately for the educational needs of the organized workers in every state in the United States.

3. That we recommend that the National and International Unions, City Central Bodies and other affiliated organizations appoint permanent educational committees to cooperate fully in the development of this movement; and we further recommend that these organizations undertake active affiliation with the Workers' Education Bureau.

The response which these proposals have brought from the various bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor has been most encouraging. Forty-one of the leading national and international unions have already undertaken active affiliation with the Workers' Education Bureau in the promotion of this educational work representing as it does over seventy per cent of the entire membership of the Federation. Nine state federations have undertaken active affiliation; ten more have taken affirmative action for affiliation or set up educational departments or provided permanent educational committees. Of these, three State Federations of Labor have established educational departments and have appointed educational directors. Fifty-one Central Labor Bodies, District Councils and local unions are in affiliation, while sixty-seven more educational committees have been duly appointed.

Study Classes

During the past year over thirty thousand adult workers have been actively engaged in studying economic and industrial problems in the various trade union colleges and study classes which now exist in upwards of two hundred industrial centers in thirty states of the union. In the summer of 1924 no less than five different summer schools and institutes were provided for the workers. Over three hundred thousand trade unionists were provided with mass education of one kind or another by illustrated lectures

in union halls, addresses, and debates on industrial subjects. Through a popular lecture service prepared under the direction of the Workers' Education Bureau and issued fortnightly for publication in the official journals of all the affiliated organizations, a much larger percentage of the entire Federation membership was included in this educational service.

International Conference on Workers' Education

At the Second International Conference on Workers' Education which was held at Ruskin College, Oxford, England, in August, 1924, President Gompers sent the following letter which was presented formally to the delegates by Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr.:

The participation of Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau of America in the Second World Conference on Workers' Education affords a most welcome opportunity to send greetings from American labor to those gathered in furtherance of a purpose so fundamentally necessary to the progress of the labor movement. Our efforts to make democratic ideals effective in every relation of life have convinced America's workers that only through the revealing unity of higher levels of information can we meet the problems of each distinctive relationship in such a way that all our efforts shall accord with an integrated vision of the possibilities of human life.

In the labor movement we have found that our progress depends upon our adoption and use of educational methods. The same principle we have found equally valid for other problems growing out of group experience whether political, social or economic. So profoundly is the need of higher knowledge revealed in every relationship of life and work that American labor is finding the necessity of maintaining continuous opportunities for information for those of different kinds of experience and attainment. We have now reached that stage in our educational planning where we must give thought to developing broader opportunities for adult education.

We want to make available for all workers and citizens opportunities to develop such capacities, discrimination and self-dependence that each shall be able to make of work and life continuous educational experience, interpreting and broadening the purpose of life itself.

If we would see life clearly and see it whole, we must understand our daily job in its relation to ourselves, to the community, to the nation and to all life. We wage earners want to know how to interpret the mass of experiences and information that crowd our daily lives. We want the kind of education that will enable us to have the sustained purposefulness that comes from understanding our problem and competency to make our own decisions.

Through our trade unions we have been helping to establish such industrial standards as are preparatory to making production processes educational so that our factories and shops may be in spirit and in fact educational enterprises. This is the same purpose we seek to further by regulating the hours of work, increasing our purchasing capacity and securing for ourselves such standards of industrial equity as accord with the self-respect of free workers. As our trade unions become increasingly effective we are disclosing new needs for educational activity. Because I am appreciative of this tendency and its implications I am glad to send greetings on behalf of American labor to a world-gathering which can do much to strengthen and stimulate workers' education in all countries.

Sixty delegates from twenty nations representing over one million working-class students and five fraternal delegates from international unions

were present at this historic three-day conference. The following resolutions were passed by the conference:

1. Formation of Workers' Educational International.
2. International pay for Workers' Education.
To provide funds for—
 - (a) The collection and compilation of information of interest to organizations concerned with workers' education.
 - (b) The publication of a review and of other reports, and of translations of publications of use to workers' educational associations.
 - (c) Assisting the exchange of students, of teachers, and of visitors between different countries.
 - (d) Assisting the organization of summer schools.
 - (e) Establishing an International Workers' College.
 - (f) Meeting office expenses entailed in the foregoing proposals.
3. International Institute for Workers' Psychology.

The International Education Committee elected by the Conference consists of the following: J. W. Bowen (Great Britain), J. W. Brown (I. F. T. U.), C. W. Bramsnaes (Denmark), M. Januix (Switzerland), C. Mertens (Belgium), S. Miller, Jr. (United States) and R. Weimann (Germany).

Conclusion

Two conclusions may be made from this impressive record of accomplishments: First, American labor is fundamentally interested in those cultural opportunities which make for an enlargement of vision and the fuller life of the entire citizenship; secondly, upon the development and extension of adult workers' education to the entire membership of the Federation the future of the American labor movement depends.

We hope that in the coming year every labor union and labor organization will authorize an educational agency to assure responsibility for meeting the educational needs of its own membership and to cooperate for the position of general educational understandings and purposes.

MATTHEW WOLL, *Chairman*,
 GEORGE W. PERKINS,
 JOHN P. FREY,
 CHARLES L. BAINE,
 CHARLES B. STILLMAN.

We recommend the adoption of the report of the Committee on Education. We also recommend that the Permanent Committee on Education and the A. F. of L. Bureau of Cooperative Societies be consolidated into a committee to be known as a Committee on Education and Cooperation.

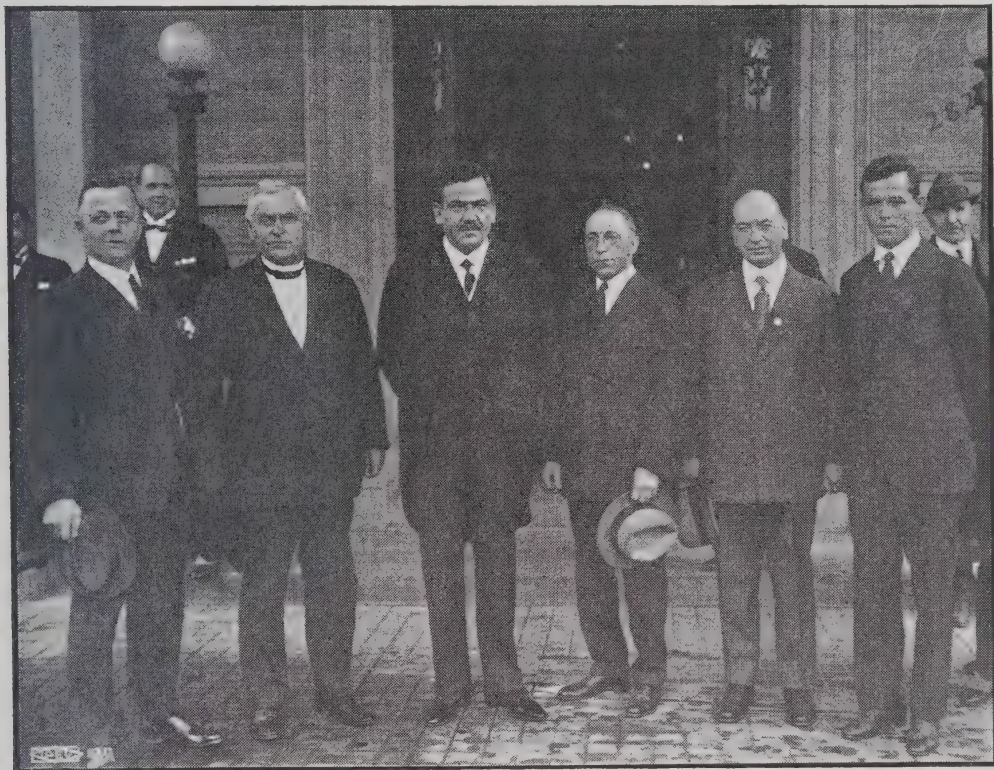
The gains made by labor during the past five years are given in detail in Volume II of the American Federation of Labor History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book. It is ready for distribution. It contains all the important matters discussed and acted upon by the American Federation of Labor conventions of 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923.

Mexico's President-Elect in Washington

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

INTERNATIONAL friendship and understanding fostered and developed by the organized labor movement were exemplified in the recent visit of Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles, president-elect of Mexico, to Washington as the guest of the United States government.

Never before has a visiting head of a foreign nation been received by representatives of the American government and the American labor move-



PRESIDENT GOMPERS APPOINTED A COMMITTEE TO GREET GEN. CALLES ON HIS ARRIVAL

Left to right—E. C. Davison, Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Machinists; Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor; Plutarco Elias Calles, President-elect of Mexico; Chester M. Wright, English Language Secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor; William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists; Canuto A. Vargis, Spanish Language Secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor. The photo was taken at the entrance to the Mexican embassy.

ment acting together. General Calles came to Washington as the government's guest, but the American Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor, all precedent to the contrary notwithstanding, participated with representatives of the state department, in welcoming the guest and his party at the station.

President Gompers appointed a committee of five to meet General Calles on his arrival, the committee including Secretary Frank Morrison as

chairman; William H. Johnston and E. C. Davison, president and secretary, respectively, of the International Association of Machinists; and Chester M. Wright and Canuto A. Vargas, English and Spanish language secretaries of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

These, with the diplomatic representatives, escorted the general and his party from the train to the President's room in Union Station. As the party emerged from this room the United States Marine Band played the Mexican and American anthems and a company of cavalry from Fort Myer sat at salute. The entire party then proceeded down Massachusetts



President Gompers, International Union Officials and A. F. of L. Employees, at A. F. of L. Building Entrance as Gen. Calles Passed Enroute to the Mexican Embassy.

Avenue to the Mexican Embassy on Sixteenth Street, passing the American Federation of Labor Building enroute. This building was draped with flags, the Mexican colors, flanked by American flags, flying from the window of President Gompers' office.

President Gompers, with a group of his associates and employees of the A. F. of L. and of international unions, watched the party as it passed by. President-elect Calles doffed his hat and waved an enthusiastic greeting as his automobile passed the group.

Of much significance, showing the warm friendship the Mexican leader has for American trade unionists, and particularly for President Gompers,

was a reception for labor representatives at the Mexican embassy during the general's stay in the capital. An entire evening was given over to this reception. It was preceded by an intimate and informal dinner given by the general to President Gompers, Secretary Davison of the Machinists, and Secretaries Wright and Vargas of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The others at the dinner were Charge d'Affaires Manuel C. Tellez and embassy attaches, including Manuel de Negri, nephew of the present Mexican Minister of Agriculture Ramon P. De Negri, formerly consul general at New York and a warm friend of President Gompers and the other labor men present.

President-elect Calles and President Gompers sat side by side at the head of the table, General Calles with his arm about President Gompers' shoulder much of the time. The Mexican leader has for the president of the American Federation of Labor a love and admiration that are deep and sincere and that are thoroughly reciprocated. This is apparent whenever the two men meet.

Following the dinner about thirty American labor leaders and officials gathered at the embassy where they were shown motion pictures of the campaign following which General Calles was elected to the presidency. These pictures were most unusual and demonstrated a campaigning ability and an endurance that most candidates might well envy. The pictures had the added attraction of portraying in wonderful detail Mexican life and Mexican scenic beauties as well as rich Mexican archaeological discoveries.

Following the showing of these beautiful pictures the gathering was grouped in the dining room of the embassy where General Calles spoke briefly, followed by President Gompers. Both addresses bespoke the friendship and the bond of fraternity that have drawn the two peoples and the labor movements of the two countries together.

Another incident of the general's visit to Washington was his visit to the office of President Gompers. Official functions had been arranged to consume almost every hour of the time and the general's spare moments were few. At 5 o'clock on the afternoon of his second day, however, General Calles found a free hour. He telephoned President Gompers and hastened to the A. F. of L. Building where he passed a half hour in intimate conversation with the president of the A. F. of L. and in inspection of the offices. General Calles declared that this visit was one of the brightest spots in his whole Washington stay.

"Mexico's Man of Destiny," as he was termed by President Gompers during the visit at the embassy, impressed his wonderful personality upon all whom he met. He is a man of magnificent physique, standing nearly six feet in height, erect of carriage, always confident and self-possessed in bearing. About his countenance there is evidence of forcefulness when forcefulness is required, but the lines of a kindly and bouyant personality dominate. He is the personification of poise and dignity, yet he detests the trappings and ceremonials of a purely dress dignity. He loves informal

intercourse with men whose ideals are akin to his and among whom no pomp or ceremony is necessary or desired.

During the exhibition of motion pictures at the embassy he sat beside President Gompers, constantly interjecting explanations of the pictures, clearly living over again the exciting days and weeks of the campaign which took him to all parts of the Mexican Republic. At particularly interesting points he would grip President Gompers by the arm, clasp him around the shoulders, or take him by the hand. A further word should be said about the pictures. They showed a manifestly spontaneous outpouring of an admiring and loyal people. Demonstration followed demonstration, from end to end of Mexico. Throngs of enormous proportions greeted the then candidate at every stop. Obviously the demonstrations were not pre-arranged or organized. Men, women and children flocked to see and hear the magnetic leader who had driven the rebel de la Huerta from the country and who had stood true to the constitution and the ideals of the country—and who, in addition, had proven true to the labor movement of which he is a proud member.

Extracts from General Calles' campaign speeches were shown with the pictures and they were declarations of purpose to bring joy to those who are striving and hoping for the progress and freedom of the Mexican people. They were repeated pledges of faith and purpose, Lincolnnesque in their simple eloquence.

A great man has been in Washington. He found a welcome among people of his kind. A great link in an already strong chain of international good will and understanding has been forged.

The unsuccessful efforts of certain interests to deflate labor and the farmers is clearly set forth in Volume II of the A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book. It gives a surprising history of the attacks on the trade union movement and their failure.

The rise and fall of the so-called "open shop" campaign is dramatically outlined in the second volume of the A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book which has just come from the press. The combinations that were organized to destroy the trade unions were unsuccessful because of the solidarity of the labor movement.

How the American labor movement brought prosperity to the country is given in detail in Volume II of the American Federation of Labor History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book. The resistance of Labor in 1920 and 1921 to the conspiracies to reduce wages undoubtedly brought the prosperity which the country has enjoyed the past two years.

A Christmas Doll

By MARGARET WIDDEMER

Smiling dolly with eyes of blue,
Was it lively where they fashioned you?
Were there laughing gnomes, and did the breeze
Toss the snow along the sparkling trees?

*Tiny hands and chill, and thin rags torn;
Faces drawn with wakeful night and morn;
Eyes that strained until they could not see;
Little mother, where they fashioned me.*

Gold-haired dolly, in your silken dress,
Tell me where you found your loveliness.
Were they fairy-folk who clad you so,
Gold wands quivering and wings aglow?

*Narrow walls and low, and tumbled bed,
One dim lamp to see to knot the thread,
This was all I saw till dark came down,
Little mother where they sewed my gown.*

Blue-eyed dolly on my Christmas tree,
Tell the wonder-things you saw to me.
Were there golden birds and silver dew
In the fairylands they brought you through?

*Weary footsteps all, and weary faces,
Serving crowded in the crowded places,
This was all I saw the Christ-eve through,
Little mother, ere I came to you.*

Blue-eyed dolly in the Christmas green,
What do all your stranger stories mean?
Are there children, then, who can not say
Thanks to Christ for this His natal day?

*Ay, There's weariness and want and shame,
Pain and evil, in the kind Christ's name,
Things the peasant Christ-Child could not know
In his quiet manger long ago!*

ROCK OF AGES



EDITORIALS

By
SAMUEL GOMPERS

Reaction is gloating over the election returns. It has something to gloat over, but any assumption that the election has given reaction unlimited power is without foundation.

**REACTION
HAS ROSES—
AND THORNS**

As this is written it is certain that the new Congress will contain a larger number of members elected with the endorsement of Labor than the present Congress. Labor has scored a clear gain in the House in the face of a landslide toward reaction in the presidential vote. This is a truly remarkable achievement, due entirely to the fact that Labor, recognizing fully the importance of Congress, did not allow the presidential contest to overshadow the congressional elections.

Big business has sought to bring Congress into disrepute. This is a part of a studied program to enlarge the executive powers, either by the creation of precedent and custom or by stealthily secured law. But Congress will remain the great representative body, answerable to the people and more and more becoming thoroughly responsive to their requirements.

The new House will contain more than 170 members whose records were found favorable in the campaign. It will contain a group of members from all parties who will stand against every reactionary proposal and who will hold a clear balance of power. While the number of Republicans in this group has been decreased by the election, the number of Democrats has been increased. The good fight has not been fought in vain. Reaction will have no path of roses during the coming two years.

In the Senate the strength of the forward looking group is not as formidable as in the House, but it is nevertheless a factor that must be reckoned with and that will give a splendid account of itself.

If the friends of Labor are not to be sufficiently numerous to enact constructive legislation, they can and doubtless will perform the frequently more valuable service of preventing the enactment of hostile and destructive measures.

The iniquitous Mellon plan and the equally hostile sales tax scheme will find no easier sailing in the new Congress than in the old. The friends of ship subsidy and of railroad loot will have no better time of it. The administration may be able to keep the Railroad Labor Board, but it can not give that group of would-be despots any additional power. There are true men on guard!

The results of the congressional elections have demonstrated again that which has been demonstrated over and over again. The non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor is the only sound political policy for American workers and for American farmers. There is no other policy that can possibly produce results in the form of political power.

The results of the presidential election prove the same thing, perhaps

principle of bolshevism, and because of that failure to understand it continues to walk into soviet traps.

The first principle of bolshevism is that it is not only fair but imperative that the bolshevists deceive their adversaries. The avowed main object of the soviets is to overthrow all other governments. Communism must consume all other forms of organized existence. In the effort to bring this about, all means are fair. Honesty is an unknown word in the practices of the soviets. To overcome opponents by beguiling and deceiving them is taught in the very primer of communism.

The communist object in reaching an agreement with someone else is to bind the other party while leaving the soviets free to pursue their destructive course. Others are expected to believe the soviets, while, under cover of that belief, the soviets conduct their undermining operations. England and France, for example, are expected to take the soviet word, just as those countries take the word of other nations. But the soviets will not keep faith. The proof of this is in their frequently repeated declarations to that effect and in their repeated breach of faith.

It may be set down as undisputed and indisputable fact that the soviets have never yet kept a treaty or an agreement when it was to their advantage to do otherwise. The record of soviet deceit is as long as the record of soviet existence.

Those who have not studied the philosophy upon which the soviet program is based will understand this with difficulty. Those who do understand that philosophy will know that no soviet authority can do otherwise; it is impossible for bolshevists to keep any agreement when to break that agreement serves the cause of bolshevism. That is an article of faith and not a weakness of human nature.

Nothing about the soviets has changed in the slightest degree since the first day of their existence. In every essential they are same. The autocracy remains. So long as the autocracy remains, America's reason for refusing to enter into relationship remains. To whatever extent democracy compromises with autocracy, to that extent democracy is weakened and autocracy is strengthened.

There have been many indications that America—the Western World—may be called upon at last to make the stand for democracy against an autocratic onslaught from the Old World. It is to be hoped that day may never come, but America can not afford to compromise her faith, to weaken her moral position, to give way in any degree to the brutality, the unhumanity, the reaction and degradation of autocracy, as exemplified by the soviets or by any other power.

America is the world's guardian of democracy and America must so remain. Though all the Old World's governments betray their people into the hands of autocracy, let America keep the faith. The bloody soviets must not be allowed to stain the banner of American freedom.

We are not in all things perfect, nor are we nearly so. We do not pretend to "holier than thou" nor do we claim to be the moral guardians of a distracted world. We do assert that we understand this issue, we

understand the tremendous things involved and we are determined to stand true to democracy—true to the common people and the common people's rights and freedom. Though others fail, America will stand true to her ideals of freedom, democracy and humanity.

The question of whether the Railroad Labor Board has power to compel the appearance of witnesses is to be passed upon by the United States Supreme Court.

**LIKE A THIEF
IN THE NIGHT**

Federal Judge James H. Wilkerson has decided that the Board does have such power and the Supreme Court is to hear the case upon appeal. Certain railroad union representatives refused to respond to a summons from the board, contending that the board has no compulsory powers.

It was to be expected that Judge Wilkerson would decide as he did. It was to Judge Wilkerson that former Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty hurried when he sought the blanket injunction against the striking railroad unions and Wilkerson promptly gave Daugherty what he and the railroads wanted. Wilkerson is consistent—consistent in his pro-railroad, pro-autocratic point of view.

No one who is familiar with the history of the Esch-Cummins Act and with the debates that took place in Congress while the bill was pending can hold with any degree of logic that the measure is in any sense compulsory; and yet no one can observe the history of the Railroad Labor Board without the understanding that from the first the powers of reaction intended that the board should have power and that this power should be steadily increased, except that there was to be no compulsion in dealing with the railroads.

The workers are to be coerced, but the railroads are not to be coerced. It has been discovered that coercion does not apply to the railroads. That is a settled issue. If, now, the courts are to hold that the wage earners may be coerced, the Railroad Labor Board will be in a fair way to become the nation's most dangerous autocratic organization. If it may compel wage earners to appear as witnesses, where is its power of compulsion to stop?

Labor protested against the Railroad Labor Board from the first. It saw clearly what was in store. Its opposition was not based merely upon the ground that this was bad for Labor, but upon the broad ground that it was bad for democracy—subversive of democracy and therefore thoroughly unAmerican.

Those who are given power almost inevitably seek to increase their power. The judiciary has performed miracles in stealthily enlarging its powers and the judiciary naturally comes to the assistance of the Railroad Labor Board. We make no effort to foretell the decision of the Supreme Court, but Judge Wilkerson has once more, in the sacred name of justice, performed a service of tremendous value to the railroads and to all who bear ill will toward democracy. And thus in the language of America's apostle of freedom, Jefferson—"The germ of dissolution of our federal govern-

ment is in the judiciary—the irresponsible body working like gravity, by day and by night, gaining a little today and gaining a little tomorrow and advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped.”

Dr. Frank Crane grinds out a daily editorial for the Hearst papers in which he says, in epigrammatic manner, things that the Hearst readers like to read.

**A SOCIOLOGICAL
QUACK**

These signed editorials in the Hearst papers are supposed to tell all Hearst readers what is the matter with them, how to get over it and how to live and conduct themselves generally.

The Hearst papers make it a business to print a plentiful quantity of this type of material, all written in absolute assurance that each day the last word is being spoken.

Dr. Crane writes with all of the manner of one who knows and who is fully conscious of his great knowledge. He is something like an editorial lay preacher.

One of the recent Crane sermons was about strikes. “Strikes are pure barbarism,” said this editorial. “They are an application of force,” it continued. “Not force on the guilty party, but force applied to a third party who has nothing to do with the case.”

Still further along in this revelation we read this: “But when Labor and capital fall out they each begin to abuse the public and hope by this means to secure their rights.”

Other disputes are taken to courts of law, we are told by Mr. Hearst’s lay preacher.

If “the paths of glory lead but to the grave” the paths of pseudo learning lead but to the snare. Dr. Crane has written for Mr. Hearst about as much tommyrot as could be well crowded into his little corner of the paper.

Who but the most ignorant or biased would deliberately proclaim that “strikes are pure barbarism”? For that sort of conclusion we customarily turn to Walter Drew and the National Association of Manufacturers where we find mentalities of the dark ages.

Strikes are not barbarism, they are not contests at law and they are not directed at any “innocent third party,” otherwise known as the public.

Strikes are opposed by those who wish Labor to have no effective voice in determining conditions under which it shall give service. Perhaps Dr. Crane does not know it, but a strike is merely a cessation of work. Workers find it impossible to secure agreement with employers as to wages, hours or conditions of work, or over any question which may be up for discussion or which may be under dispute. They seek by every fair means to bring about mutual agreement. If they fail to secure agreement and if they feel that they can not accept the terms offered by the employer they cease work. They decline to give service under terms to which they can not agree. That is a strike and that is all there is to a strike. That is not barbarism!

The workers have a right—moral and legal—to seek to dissuade others

from accepting the terms which they have refused. For the purpose of meeting those who may come seeking the jobs the workers post pickets. It is the task of the pickets to inform job seekers of the conditions obtaining in the plant and to induce the job seekers to join in declining to accept the terms and conditions offered. That is all there is to picketing.

Then if the employer can get along without the workers for a long enough period he continues his terms and the workers fail to make a gain at that point and at that time. No progress is achieved then—but nevertheless the employer knows that the workers have aspirations and that they will fight for those aspirations.

If, on the other hand, the employer can not get along without the workers, he summons them back into conference and agrees with them upon the issues in question. Progress toward a better life has been made. Something has been gained for the future of the race. How does Dr. Crane torture that into barbarism?

Perhaps a man who must grind out 500 words every day in the year for the Hearst newspapers ought not be held too strictly to account for what he says, but if they are to escape on that plea they must not pretend to all wisdom. And no Hearst writer dare pretend to anything less. Dr. Crane sets down his words with definiteness. This article of his ought to be purchased by the millions of copies by reactionary employers, bourgeois of every kind and by the mummies of those who died a thousand years ago.

A dispute over the terms and conditions under which human beings are to labor and give service to the world is not to be likened to a man's "financial difference with his neighbor" which is properly settled in a court. Here this Crane Doctor finds his high mark of bigotry and idiocy. The reactionaries have been trying to put labor disputes on a basis with legal actions for a long time. They tried it in Kansas. It failed because men would not be slaves, driven to work at the command of a judge. It was tried to a degree in the Esch-Cummins Act, where it has likewise failed for similar reasons. It has been tried in New Zealand and other Australasian countries and proven a miserable failure.

When men have nothing to say—indeed, when they have not the final word—in determining under what terms and conditions they shall work, they are in truth and reality slaves and nothing else.

It is difficult to discourse patiently upon such outrageous time-serving diatribes, difficult to consider it as the thoughtful, seriously minded conclusions of an honest writer; and if it is to be so considered it is impossible to account for those conclusions.

That strikes are acts of barbarism directed against an innocent public is the time honored slogan of the most reactionary employers, not the finding of honest research and honest thought.

Concerning the public, there can be no such thing as a disinterested public where there is a contest between going ahead and going backward. Nor is there any such thing as a public that is neither employed nor employer. All are in one category or the other. In some manner, or in some vital relation to life and work, they are either employers or they are employed and there is in reality no disinterested "public." Dr. Crane is well aware of this fact, or at least he should be, just as he should be aware of the actual truth regarding all of the ridiculous and vicious statements contained in his Hearst diatribe.

This Crane is at best a queer bird.

Book Reviews

THE CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST, by John A. Fitch; Harper and Brother, New York

PROFESSOR John R. Commons says of this book in a prefatory note that it is an interpretation of what the author has found in the industrial unrest of the present. Mr. Fitch himself, in a foreword, provides a better description of the book in his statement that "it is an attempt to reveal the background, the point of view and the circumstances out of which the labor struggle emerges." He expresses the belief that reasonable persons can understand the activities of the wage earners, if they will make a fair and careful effort. He believes also that these activities, whether they are agreed with or not, will under analysis, prove not to be irrational.

Mr. Fitch has compiled an almost prodigious amount of material to prove his contention and the unbiased reader is sure to agree that he has succeeded. Back of this volume there are many years of careful observation and patient inquiry. Few who are not in the labor movement have studied with such faithfulness, the great detail of which it is composed and the tremendous background of life and labor which gives it form and purpose.

Mr. Fitch's book is a symmetrical bringing together of an army of facts, some of them of themselves almost trifling, but all of them fitting together into a picture which conveys a real idea of "what it is all about."

The author is not opinionated. He is not trying to preach a sermon. He believes there is much misunderstanding about a great and important movement and he believes this misunderstanding is, at least to a large extent, due to lack of information. Most persons have only a limited opportunity to observe for themselves. Mr. Fitch, therefore, passes on the findings of one with whom observing has been a profession and a specialty.

Many a fine theorist would do well to abandon a purely imaginary Utopia, and dig instead in such simple and humble truths as this book conveys. There may be here and there a detail, or here and there a sentence or paragraph of thought with which disagreement is possible, but the main purpose of the work and the overwhelming bulk of its contents must find generous commendation.

There is about the volume nothing startling and this may prove disappointing to many. There probably is nothing startling, in the accepted sense of the word, about the life of the average wage earner, his effort to make income meet out-go, his effort to find and keep steady employment, and his struggle to realize, during his lifetime, something of the ambition which is in him. However little there may be about all this that is startling or striking in character, it is all of tremendous importance to those who have the problems to meet and upon whose shoulders must fall the unhappiness and tragedy when they are not met according to hopes and plans.

Mr. Fitch discusses wages, the wage earner's living and the question of unemployment in a manner that will be appreciated and understood by those to whom those questions mean most. He produces a wealth of information and argues little. Where he does argue, it is to a purpose,

as in the case of his treatment of the postulate of the comfortable that "any man who wants to work can get a job."

Mr. Fitch finds a great deal to say about collective bargaining that will be new to many of his readers who do not make a business of following the activities of the labor movement. He deals with the subject in a manner that brings out the importance of trade union organization in real collective bargaining. The weakness or futility of employers' subterfuges is well set forth and the more effectively set forth because it is done without prejudice or partisanship.

There is an excellent discussion of industrial unionism marred only by a feeling on the part of the author that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are intensely opposed to that form of organization. It would have been helpful had he shown that their opposition is to having any form of organization thrust upon the workers from the outside and their preference is for the normal and logical development of that form of organization which best suits the needs of the workers in their day-to-day struggles.

A great deal of information is produced in the book to take the glamor away from industrial pensions and so-called participation in ownership. The author has had much experience in observing company-towns, strikes and policing of strikes, and the manner in which the rights of workers are either observed or denied during strike times.

The chapters which he devotes to these subjects are most important and most useful. It is in these chapters that he discusses the injunction and the attitude of the courts. Two paragraphs which it is possible to quote illuminate these chapters and furnish examples of the author's understanding of the vital points involved.

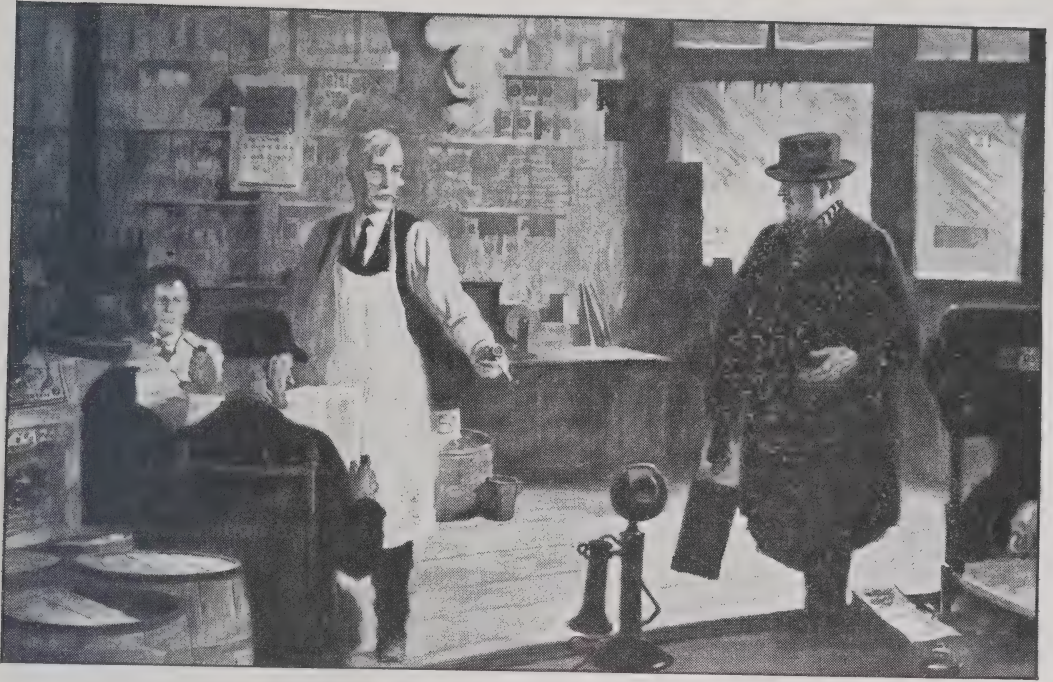
The first of these quotations deals with the courts:

There is no question but that uncertainty concerning the constitutionality of laws is a source of irritation and sometimes of distrust of government. Once the Supreme Court of any state has held a certain law to be unconstitutional under due process, the field covered by the law becomes debatable in every state. The legislature of one state is not controlled by the decisions in the other states, but, realizing the tendency of courts to follow one another in their decisions, they will hesitate about passing a law that has been declared unconstitutional in any jurisdiction. It may be that some other court will uphold the law, but in the absence of specific knowledge, desirable and necessary legislation is often postponed while the courts are making up their minds.

The second deals with the injunction and reveals the manner in which the employers purpose is frequently achieved, even though the injunction is subsequently modified or dissolved:

When an injunction is sought, a preliminary restraining order is sometimes issued without notice and without a hearing, the purpose being to hold matters in status quo until a hearing can be held. Several days elapse before a formal hearing is possible, and the unions claim that this period, during which the strikers are held inactive, often is sufficient to enable the employer to win the strike. If later, on formal hearing the restraining order is dismissed, the union is not thereby recompensed for the undue restraint under which it was placed, the damage to its interests having already been accomplished.

The whole discussion of labor and the courts is particularly pertinent at the present time and will be tremendously helpful to students and others



The People's Telephone

The telephone knows no favorites. It does the bidding of the country store and of the city bank. It is found in the ranch house kitchen and in the drawing-room of the city mansion. Its wires penetrate the northern forest, stretch across the prairie, are tunneled under city streets.

The telephone knows no favorites. Its service to all the people is of the same high standard—the Bell System standard. Twenty-four hours a day it carries the voices of all. For the benefit of all, the long-distance circuits are kept in tune. Numberless discoveries and improvements devel-

oped by the Bell System have made the telephone more useful for all the people. In America, all can afford the telephone, for Bell System service is the cheapest, as well as the best, in the world.

The telephone knows no favorites. It is not owned in any one locality or by any particular group of men. It is owned by 350,000 stockholders, who represent a cross-section of the thrift of the whole country. The owners of the telephone are those it serves.

In America to-day the 15,000,000 telephones of the Bell System contribute to the security, happiness and efficiency of all the people.



**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES
BELL SYSTEM**

One Policy, One System, Universal Service

who wish to understand labor's attitude toward the courts and the reasons for that attitude which are to be found in the day-to-day existence of the labor movement. It will be discovered that the problem is much more than an academic abstraction.

The concluding chapter is entitled, "Capital, Labor and the Public." At the outset, the author says that the book might have ended logically with the preceding chapter. This is undoubtedly true and yet it is interesting to have this concluding chapter, for herein Mr. Fitch gives freer rein to his own views than he has done elsewhere. The views of a careful and sincere observer are always interesting whether or not they are always agreeable.

All in all, this volume of something over 400 pages is a distinct and valuable contribution to the understanding of the labor movement and of the problems with which wage earners, as members of organizations and as individual citizens of the Republic, have to deal from day to day. There is, in many circles, such a depth of ignorance that no one book and no one man can make any great headway against it, but each effort counts for something in the long struggle for the ascendancy on the part of truth and understanding. This book will help in that direction.

Volume II, of the American Federation of Labor History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book is ready for distribution. It contains 385,000 words taken from the proceedings of the conventions of the A. F. of L. during the past five years. It shows a wonderful advance for labor despite the bitter warfare made against it after the armistice was declared.

National injustice is the surest road to national downfall.—*Gladstone.*

The illusion that times that were better than those that are, has probably pervaded all ages.—*Horace Greeley.*

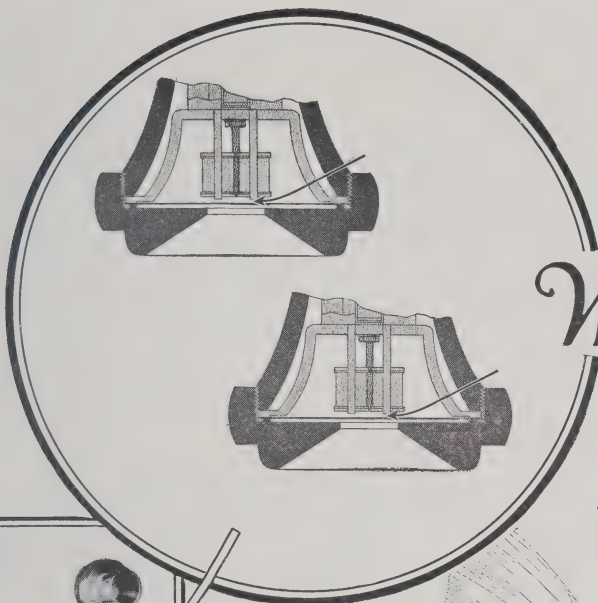
What the Puritans gave the world was not thought, but action.—*Horace Greeley.*

Child labor is inconsistent with a system of education free, universal and compulsory. It is at once the cause and the result of ignorance and of poverty.—*Medill McCormick.*

The statesmen of the world have no vision. It is the people of the world who see. No great vision has even come to mankind that was not wrought from the suffering of mankind.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

The darkest hour in any man's life is when he sits down to plan how to get money without earning it.—*Horace Greeley.*

Labor must work out its own salvation. Wage workers can attain that degree of well-being to which they are entitled only by their own efforts. The general public can not be expected to do for them what they fail to do for themselves, nor would it be desirable that those rights and benefits to which they are entitled should be handed down to them by the Government or by organized society as grace from above.—*Frank P. Walsh.*



*Which space
is bigger?*

by the thickness
of a bee's wings

THE picture shows the ends of two telephone receiver magnets. The spaces indicated by the black arrows are equal in size—to the unaided eye.

But the extremely fine measuring instruments which Western Electric uses, show one space to be wider than the other by the thickness of a bee's wings. Even so small a difference is too great to pass the rigid inspection which watches over the making of your telephone.

This care for detail is one reason why your telephone is so dependable. It is typical of the whole work of producing Western Electric equipment, and is a manufacturing habit which dates back to the very beginning of telephone history.



Under the receiver cap is a thin disc of iron. For proper voice reception, the distance between disc and magnet must be fixed with minute accuracy. The operative shown here, by grinding the magnet unit, makes this distance just right.

Western Electric

SINCE 1869 MAKERS OF ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT

WHAT OUR ORGANIZERS ARE DOING

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC

FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

Laundry Workers

Harry L. Morrison.—State of employment is fair and is slowly improving. Our campaign in Oakland, Calif., is still in progress to unionize all laundries there as well as in Orange County of the same state. New local unions were organized at Anaheim, Calif., and El Paso, Texas. Our total membership is now 5,500.

Sleeping Car Conductors

W. O. Murphy.—We have in contemplation the asking for a conference to consider a minimum road assignment. One death has occurred involving an expenditure of \$1,000. We have 39 local unions with a total membership of 2,300.

Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers

A. D. Yoder.—Eight deaths occurred, involving an expenditure of \$1,450.00. We now have 448 local unions with a total membership of 9,000.

FROM DISTRICT, STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZERS

ARKANSAS

Jenny Lind.—N. M. Henson:

Coal miners have been working on full time here since September 9 of this year. The Western Coal & Mining Company have hired 293 men in four of their mines.

Little Rock.—Matt Lewis:

Conditions here as to wages, hours and standards remain about the same. None of our plants have closed down. Union labeled goods are demanded.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles.—George E. Bevan:

Wages, hours and conditions of work remain about the same in our industries here. We have a special drive on by active label committee to increase the demand for labeled goods. Taxicab and ice wagon drivers were organized last month.

COLORADO

Denver.—Earl R. Hoage:

Through negotiation, the moving picture operators and stage hands received a \$4.00 a week increase in salary. The Iris Theatre, after a six months' contest has signed an agreement with the Amusement Council. The Cuban Cigar Company has hired additional workers. The Pickford

and Radio Cafes have signed agreements with the waiters' union. Building permits issued for the last nine months aggregate over \$18,000,000. Our city employes' union now has a membership of 450 in good standing. The Trades Union Promotional League is holding meetings in the interest of the union label, house card and button in all parts of the city. Iron Molders' Union No. 188 is carrying on a membership campaign.

ILLINOIS

East Dubuque.—John T. Quinn:

The Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company have hired about 100 additional workers. The railroad workers have union agreements.

Litchfield.—Henry D. Felix:

Work is slackening down here. The American Radiator Company, Brown Shoe Company and the Litchfield Foundry and Machine Company, are our principal industries here and they do not have union agreements. The majority of labor votes from this town will go to the independent candidates. Union labeled goods are constantly demanded.

INDIANA

Elkhart.—I. O. Steplic:

We are steadily gaining ground in having union labeled goods placed on the market for sale here. The only company union here is the railroad shops, but it is not meeting with much success. A great many plants have closed down and workers in nearly all industries have been laid off.

Kokomo.—C. E. Musselman:

Conditions here at the present time are not very good, as only about 50 per cent of employes are working. The Haynes and Apperson Automobile Company has closed down. Our foundries here have union agreements with the molders.

South Bend.—Harry Lewis:

Forty men in one department of the Studebaker Car Company have been laid off. Despite this fact that company is advertising for out-of-town help, at the rate of 45 cents per hour. Elevator constructors and lathers' unions have been reorganized and everything is going along fine. By demanding the union label on purchases, we have been able to have the stores carry a line of labeled goods.

IOWA

Des Moines.—W. B. Hammil:

The Ford Motor Company increased their working force slightly last month. More men were put to work in the building trades. No plants have closed down entirely, but some are operating only part time. Government truck drivers and helpers were organized. Culinary Alliance No. 44, with 36 men, was recently organized.



Save ~~24c~~ **Green Stamps** and you **Save Money!** Thousands of home makers will tell you this is true.

The Sperry & Hutchinson Co.
New York City

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge.—John R. Kelly:

On October 27 we called a special meeting here in an effort to organize the barbers in this locality. Improvements in wages and conditions of work were secured by the carmen on the Boston Elevated Railway. Our union label committee has delegates canvassing the stores in the interest of union-labeled goods.

NEVADA

Reno.—Leonard Newstead:

Wages, hours, and conditions of work remain about the same, except in the restaurants, where workers have been laid off. Lumber, mining, and ranching are our chief industries. Southern Pacific Railroad Company and the Telephone Company have organized company unions. The Central Trades Council is working to promote the use of union labeled goods.

NEW JERSEY

Jersey City.—William F. Kavanagh:

I distributed thousands of folders sent me to advertise the hatters' label, which has resulted in increased demand for union labels here. The hat store owners in their window display pulled the bands of the hats down to exhibit the labels sewed in. Through our efforts we are getting good results to have printing done bearing the label. A retail clerks' union has been organized and with the aid of the central body and A. F. of L. organizers, we hope to enroll all clerks here. The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' label has been placed on our bread here. City and county employes received an increase in wages. The Boynton Furnace Company, fair to the molders' union, has increased its working force.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque.—Neal Culley:

The outlook for industry here is better and conditions in the building trades are improving. The street car company has formed a company union for its employees. A 10-cent per hour increase in wages of motion picture operators has been granted.

"Save the surface and
you save all" — *Paint & Varnish*



You can wash these walls

Walls painted with Dutch Boy white-lead and Dutch Boy flatting oil can be washed again and again without harm to the handsome flat finish this paint gives.

Flat paint made of Dutch Boy white-lead and flatting oil adds beauty and long life to any interior. It can be tinted to any color desired. It is easy to apply and sticks tight to the surface. It is economical because it spreads far and holds its color and finish indefinitely.

These are the reasons why painters everywhere use Dutch Boy white-lead and Dutch Boy flatting oil.

NATIONAL LEAD COMPANY

New York, 111 Broadway; Boston, 131 State St.; Buffalo, 116 Oak St.; Chicago, 900 West 18th St.; Cincinnati, 659 Freeman Ave.; Cleveland, 820 West Superior Ave.; St. Louis, 722 Chestnut St.; San Francisco, 485 California St.; Pittsburgh, National Lead & Oil Co. of Pa., 316 Fourth Ave.; Philadelphia, John T. Lewis & Bros. Co., 437 Chestnut St.

NEW YORK

New Rochelle.—Edward P. Cotter:

Wage increases in the building industry from \$9 to \$10.50 with the 44-hour week were granted. The painters gained the 40-hour week. Enthusiastic La Follette meetings were held throughout Westchester County.

Plattsburgh.—Bentley S. Morrill:

Normal conditions prevail here in wages, hours, and conditions of work.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte.—Henry Eatough:

After a strike of one week's duration the textile workers resisted successfully the attempt to cut wages and returned to work in the Wennonah Mill at Lexington. A wage increase was given the workers in the Cascade Cotton Mill at Mooresville. The cotton mills are slowly increasing their forces. A new Ford plant has opened up in Charlotte and quite a bit of building is going on. General agitation is being carried on to promote the use of union labeled goods.

OHIO

Belle Valley.—A. J. Thompson:

The Imperial mine has gain started operations, giving work to about 170 men for four days a week. Workers have been laid off by the Cambridge Collieries Company. A great many of our stores here carry union labeled goods.

THE babies of today—are the men and women of tomorrow. Their ruggedness and healthfulness depend largely upon the food they receive during the first two years of infancy.

Nestlé's Milk Food supplies to babies deprived of mother's milk, the same amount of nourishment and tissue building qualities as breast milk.

Throughout the world, Nestlé's Milk Food is the recognized standard food for infants and invalids. All conscientious druggists carry it.

Sample and 72-page Mother Book, mailed FREE. Write today, while you think of it.

Nestlé's Food Co., 130 William Street, New York.

Nestlé's Milk Food

Hamilton.—Stanley Ogg:

All establishments where metal trade workers are employed have decreased their force. We are continually agitating the demand for the union label in all meetings of the central body.

Middletown.—Gus Miles:

Two plants of the American Rolling Mill Company have hired additional workers. This will mean work for from 500 to 1,000 men when operating on full time. Work in the building trades is slack. We are urging that union labeled goods be demanded.

OKLAHOMA

Hartshorne.—E. C. Robertson:

The "open shop" drive has been gaining ground in this locality, and the union mines here have laid off their workers. Forty-two men have been arrested accused of rioting, and we are trying to raise money to cover the attorney's fee.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia.—Wm. J. Boyle:

Through negotiation the several building trades unions have increased their wages. The textile, shipbuilding, and locomotive industries have laid off employees. Work has started on the Delaware River Bridge. The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company has formed "company" unions for their motormen and conductors. A local union of elevator starters and operators was organized. The latest official report of the state shows that the average weekly wage of all toilers is \$26.50.

Punxsutawney.—Jas. L. Carmin:

Twenty men have been hired by the B. R. & P. Railway and 115 by the Elk Run Window Glass Company. We are urging all our members to demand union labeled goods when purchasing.

TENNESSEE

Kingsport.—L. D. Fletcher:

There is plenty of work at 60 cents per hour, 10 hours a day. The Borden Cotton Mills have started operations and more than 100 new houses are under construction. Union labeled goods are being demanded.

TEXAS

Orange.—E. L. Spaugh:

No establishments have laid off workers. In the building trade additional men have been put to work. Wages and hours remain about the same. All members of local unions in the city demand union-made goods.

Teague.—T. F. Hamilton:

About 250 men have been laid off here by the railroad company. In fact, all cities and towns in this part of the state are overrun with men looking for employment.

VIRGINIA

Lynchburg.—Jas. F. Lawson:]

No establishments here have laid off workers and

Keystone Roofing Manufacturing Company

Asphalt Roofings - Shingles - Waterproof Products

York, Pennsylvania

conditions of industry remain about the same, with the exception that some new building is going on—two new churches, a school house, and an Odd Fellows' Temple. Our central body has appointed committees to advance the sale of union labeled goods.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston.—C. C. Bradley:

The Kelly's Creek Collieries Company of Ward has signed an agreement with the United Mine Workers of America and union members will be employed at the mines of the company under the 1923 wage scale. The Miners' and Consumers' Coal Company of Morrisvale, Big Horse Creek of Coal River, also signed an agreement under the 1923 scale. Approximately 800 men are affected by the Ward contract and 130 by the Morrisvale. Our league is doing everything possible to have the stores carry union labeled goods.

WYOMING

Lander.—Wm. J. McMahon:

Wages, hours, and conditions of work remain about the same. Stock-raising, oil, and coal are our principal industries, and the latter have union agreements. Efforts are being made to form a Federal union here. Through our persistent efforts the stores now carry more union-made goods to select from.

PORTO RICO

Yanco.—Max Mattie Rivera:

A great campaign of organization has been accomplished, resulting in increased membership for the carpenters. Wages, hours, and conditions of work remain about the same. Sugar cane, tobacco raising, coffee growing, waists, and embroideries are our principal industries.



EMPIRE

Empire Petroleum Products

GASOLINE

NAPHTHA

KEROSENE

GAS OIL

FUEL OIL

ROAD OIL

ABSORPTION OIL

NEUTRAL OILS

RED OIL

CYLINDER STOCKS

PARAFFIN OILS

PARAFFIN WAX

Write for Prices

EMPIRE REFINERIES, Inc.

SUBSIDIARY CITIES SERVICE COMPANY

GENERAL SALES OFFICE — TULSA, OKLA.

SINCLAIR OILS

SINCLAIR REFINING COMPANY

CHICAGO

NEW YORK

Snowdrift is *nourishing*

Snowdrift not only makes things good to eat but is itself more nourishing food than almost anything else you eat.

FOR MAKING
CAKE, BISCUIT AND PASTRY AND
FOR WHOLESOME FRYING

Money Available for Real Estate Loans

- ¶ We have funds to loan in any amount on approved real estate situated in the District.
- ¶ Applications for loans receive immediate and courteous attention.
- ¶ This company continues its policy of assisting all legitimate building enterprises with loans on excellent terms.

Consultation is invited

The Washington Loan & Trust Company

EST. 1889

Main Office, 900-02 F Street N. W.

Branch Office, 618-20 Seventeenth Street N. W.

JOHN B. LARNER :: :: :: PRESIDENT

Resources \$15,000,000.00

SUN SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK COMPANY

Main Office and Shipyard, Chester, Pa.

Finance Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

25 Broadway, New York City

Eight Shipbuilding Ways

Three Large Wet Basins

Two Floating Dry Docks

11,000 Tons Capacity Each

Engine Builders Iron Founders
Boiler Makers

Builders of High Class Single and Twin Screw
Passenger and Cargo Vessels; also Bulk
Oil Tankers up to 600 feet in length.

*Extensive Facilities for Ship, Engine
and Boiler Repairs*

Sole Licensees—

Sun-Doxford Opposed-Piston Oil Engines

Botany Worsted Mills

Passaic, New Jersey

New York Offices:

200 Fifth Avenue, New York



BUY U. S. TREASURY
SAVINGS CERTIFICATES



Quality Lubricants Since 1853

SWAN & FINCH OIL CORPORATION

522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

YORK SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY

Safes and Vaults

FACTORY

- - - -

YORK, PA.

ARMSTRONG STOCKS AND DIES



HINGED PIPE VISES
PIPE CUTTERS
PIPE MACHINES
STEAM AND GAS FITTERS TOOLS

MANUFACTURED BY

THE ARMSTRONG M'FG CO.
BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

The Only Safe Water is a Sterilized Water

Every drop of water used by over
80 million people in North Amer-
ica is sterilized by Liquid Chlorine



WALLACE & TIERNAN
COMPANY INCORPORATED
Manufacturers of Chlorine Control Apparatus

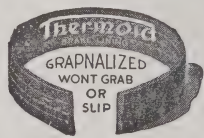
NEWARK

NEW JERSEY



BUY

U. S. Treasury
Savings Certificates



Thermoid

Hydraulic Comp.

100% Brake Lining
THERMOID RUBBER COMPANY
Trenton, N. J.

CENTRAL AGUIRRE SUGAR COMPANY

AGUIRRE, PORTO RICO

Subscribe to The American Federationist
\$1.00 A YEAR

AMERICAN
DYEWOOD COMPANY

*An Envable
Record of Satisfactory Results*

belongs to dyestuffs bearing the name
American Dyewood Company. They are
made in a full line of Natural and Artificial
colors to meet every requirement.

AMERICAN DYEWOOD CO.

NEW YORK—PHILADELPHIA—BOSTON—HAMILTON ONT.
WORKS AT CHESTER, PA.

**THE RIGGS
National Bank**

of Washington, D. C.

3% PAID ON SAVINGS

\$1.00

will open an account in our
Savings Department

FIVE CONVENIENT LOCATIONS

MAIN OFFICE:

Pennsylvania Ave. Opposite U. S. Treasury

OUTSIDE OFFICES:

Dupont Circle, 1913 Mass. Ave.
Eighteenth St. Near Columbia Road
Fourteenth St. and Park Road
Seventh and Eye Streets N. W.

Capital and Surplus, \$3,750,000

A. ZICHTL & CO.

Bookbinders

BLANK BOOKS

OF EVERY KIND

MADE TO ORDER

LIBRARY BINDING

**1005 E Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.**

Strictly Union Shop

PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY

Glass--Mirrors--Paints--Brushes

Warehouses in All Principal Cities

THE AUSTIN COMPANY

Industrial Engineers and Builders
OFFICES ALL PRINCIPAL CITIES

Sant-Flat
Mooramel
Cement Coating
Impervo Surfacers
White Enamel Underbody

Benjamin Moore & Co.

Paints, Varnishes and Muresco

NEW YORK
CHICAGO
CLEVELAND



ST. LOUIS
CARTERET
TORONTO

Muresco
House Paint
Pure Oil Colors
Japans and Driers
Impervo Varnishes

THE J. G. WHITE ENGINEERING CORPORATION

ENGINEERS—CONSTRUCTORS

43 EXCHANGE PLACE - - NEW YORK

"It is far more economical to pay a few cents more for a good lubricant, than to accept an inferior one as a gift." Do you believe it?

KEYSTONE LUBRICATING COMPANY

Manufacturers and Lubricating Engineers

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

EST. 1884

Peabody Coal Company

CHICAGO

Founded 1883

Operating

Forty-four Mines in Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Wyoming, with annual capacity of 26,000,000 tons.

McClellan & Junkersfeld

Incorporated

Engineering and Construction

Power Developments — Industrial Plants—Examinations—
Reports—Management

68 Trinity Place, NEW YORK

CHICAGO PHILADELPHIA ST. LOUIS

J. Baumgarten & Sons Company



RUBBER STAMPS

**SEALS FOR UNIONS
AND
SOCIETIES**

Union Label Presses Supplied

1005 E Street N. W.
Washington D. C.

SHIP via CUNARD

There is no better way!

Between
NEW YORK BOSTON BALTIMORE
PHILADELPHIA MONTREAL QUEBEC
and
LIVERPOOL LONDON SOUTHAMPTON
GLASGOW HAMBURG LEVANT
MEDITERRANEAN PORTS

THROUGH BILLS OF LADING issued to all parts of Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Russia, Egypt, Red Sea Ports, Persian Gulf Ports, Mediterranean Ports, India, Etc.

NEW WEST BOUND SERVICE, Calcutta and Colombo to Boston, New York and Philadelphia via Brocklebank's Cunard.



CUNARD

and

ANCHOR

STEAM SHIP LINES

25 Broadway New York
Tel.—Bowling Green 5300

YOUR SPARE TIME TURNED INTO MONEY

\$ \$ \$ \$

Any wide-awake union man can earn money in his spare time by securing subscriptions for the

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

A few hours' work in the union hall or among his shopmates will give surprising results

Some of our agents are sending over a hundred names as the result of canvassing among their friends during odd hours

Write to this office for sample copies, descriptive booklets and rates of commission

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Should be in Every Home

10c a copy from
newsdealers



\$1 a year by
subscriptions

Westchester County

Good
Homes

Good
Schools

Good
Roads

Good Transportation

To and From

New York City

Via the

**New York, Westchester &
Boston Railway**

LOW FARES

A Train Every Twenty Minutes
to Get You to the Job

BYLLESBY ENGINEERING & MANAGEMENT CORPORATION

208 South La Salle Street
CHICAGO

**NEW YORK
SAN DIEGO**

**BOSTON
TACOMA**

Gasoline
Measuring
Pumps and
Storage
Tanks



Industrial
Oil Storage
and
Handling
Equipment

**GILBERT & BARKER
MANUFACTURING CO.**

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

EPOCH MAKING IMPROVEMENTS

THE interpole construction of electric motors now generally copied and approved by all electrical manufacturers was invented, developed and first manufactured by this company.

BALL BEARING electric motors were first developed and manufactured by this company. What other improvements in motor design during the past twenty years compare with these two achievements?

A. C. or D. C. Motors— $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1,000 H. P.

ELECTRO DYNAMIC COMPANY

BAYONNE, NEW JERSEY

Sales Offices in principal cities

Hegeman-Harris Company

INCORPORATED

BUILDERS

360 Madison Ave.

New York, N. Y.

Telephone Murray Hill 5362



KENT-COSTIKYAN

FOUNDED 1886

485 FIFTH AVENUE—SIXTH FLOOR
NEW YORK

Opposite Public Library

IMPORTERS OF ORIENTAL RUGS
SEAMLESS CARPETS IN SOLID COLORS
RUGS WOVEN TO ORDER IN ORIENT

THE FOUNDATION COMPANY

ENGINEERING CONSTRUCTION

An Organization of experienced men, equipped with modern plant, prepared to undertake engineering construction anywhere.

120 Liberty Street

City of New York

Offices in Principal Cities

**Wilkes-Barre Lace
Mfg. Co.**

WILKES-BARRE - PENNA.

**Air Compressors, Condensers,
Turbo Blowers, Rock Drilling
Machinery, Oil Engines,
Pneumatic Tools.**

Branch Offices and Service Stations
the World Over

Ingersoll-Rand Company

11 Broadway

New York

PHONE, C. H. 850

O'Neill Company

General Contractors
and Engineers



127 East Mermaid Lane
Chestnut Hill Philadelphia

THE CALCO CHEMICAL COMPANY

MANUFACTURERS OF
Dyestuffs, Intermediates and
Pharmaceuticals
MAIN OFFICE AND WORKS
BOUND BROOK, NEW JERSEY

Diamond State Fibre Co.

Makers of Hard and Flexible
Vulcanized Fibre Sheets,
Rods, Tubes and Specialties.

BRIDGEPORT PENNSYLVANIA

Incorporated \$75,000.00

Telephone Connection

B. E. Grant Company General Contractors

Trucking—Sand, Gravel and Crushed Stone
OIL DISTRIBUTORS
BOSTON, MASS.

LEDGE
South Huntington Avenue
Boston

STABLES
99 West Cedar Street
Boston

SAND PIT
Medfield, Mass.

BUY

U. S. Treasury
Savings Certificates

TROJAN POWDER COMPANY

Allentown, Pa. San Francisco, Cal.

Manufacturers of

HIGH EXPLOSIVES

For All Kinds of

Quarry Operations	Excavating and
Mining Operations	Construction Work
Land Clearing	Agricultural Purposes

Magazines and Distributing points in all
important consuming localities

Mills at Seiple, Pa.; Robert, Cal.

Chas. Cooper & Co.

Manufacturing Chemists
Established 1857

Acids	Chrome Oxide
Ammonia	Copper Carbonate
Bone Ash	Ether Sulphuric
Collodion	Sulphur Flour

194 Worth Street - NEW YORK
Works: Newark, N. J.

Subscribe to the

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

\$1 a Year

PEJEPSCOT PAPER COMPANY

MANUFACTURERS OF PULP,
PAPER AND LUMBER

PEJEPSCOT MILL
BOWDOIN MILL
LISBON FALLS MILL
TOPSHAM MILL
GREAT SALMON RIVER MILL
MARTINS HEAD MILL
COOKSHIRE MILL
SAWYERVILLE MILL

OFFICES: BRUNSWICK, MAINE
42 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY

The FIRST NATIONAL**Trademark**

stands for the
ultimate in
artistic and
entertaining
pictures. 

UNITED STATES SMELTING
Refining and Mining Company

Executive Offices: 55 Congress Street, BOSTON
Sales Office: - 120 Broadway, NEW YORK

BUYERS OF Gold, Silver, Lead, Lead and Zinc Con-
centrating Ores, Matte and Furnace Products
PRODUCERS AND SELLERS OF Gold, Silver, Copper,
Lead, Zinc, Arsenic, Cadmium, Copper Car-
bonate and Sodium Arsenite
REFINERS OF Lead Bullion.

OPERATING OFFICES: Salt Lake City, Utah; Kennett,
Cal.; Goldroad, Ariz.; Baxter Springs, Kan.;
Eureka, Colo., and Pachuca, Mexico.

TEXAS GULF
SULPHUR COMPANY

(Incorporated)

41 East 42d Street
NEW YORK

FRED W. SINCLAIR

ALBERT GRIGG

Sinclair & Grigg
Builders

Medical Arts Building
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

**General Engineering &
Management Corporation**

165 Broadway, New York City

Design—Construction
Management—Financing

PUBLIC UTILITIES**BUY**

U. S. Treasury
Savings Certificates

United Piece Dye Works

*Dyers, Printers and Finishers
in the Piece of*

All Silk Fabrics, Silk and Cotton Mixed
Goods, Silk and Wool, All
Cotton Goods, Etc.

LODI, N. J.

New York Office: - 132 Madison Avenue
Mills: - - - - Lodi & Hawthorne

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 072924506